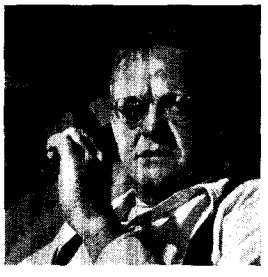
Our Foreign Policy After Cuba
May 25, 1961 25¢
How Catholics Feel About School Aid

THE REPORTER

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FROM THE JOHNNIE WALKER COLLECTION

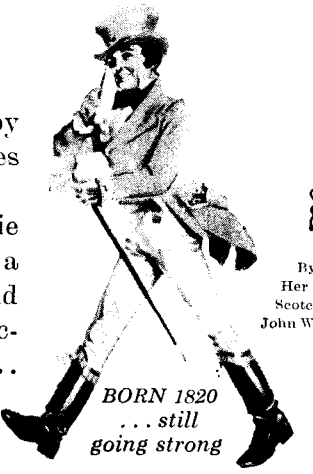
"Trophy" by ROBERT RIGGS



Illustrator... Lithographer

A man can live a safari all over again, surrounded by trophies of the hunt. Robert Riggs stirs such memories to life in this vivid painting.

Here another trophy takes its rightful place. Johnnie Walker Black Label stands for the successful end to a hunt which has taken men to every corner of the world ... the quest for Scotch whisky of rare and royal character. To relive great moments ... to live new moments ... Black Label becomes your trophy of trophies.



BORN 1820 ... still going strong

By appointment to
Her Majesty the Queen
Scotch Whisky Distillers
John Walker & Sons Limited

JOHNNIE WALKER • BLACK LABEL • SCOTCH WHISKY

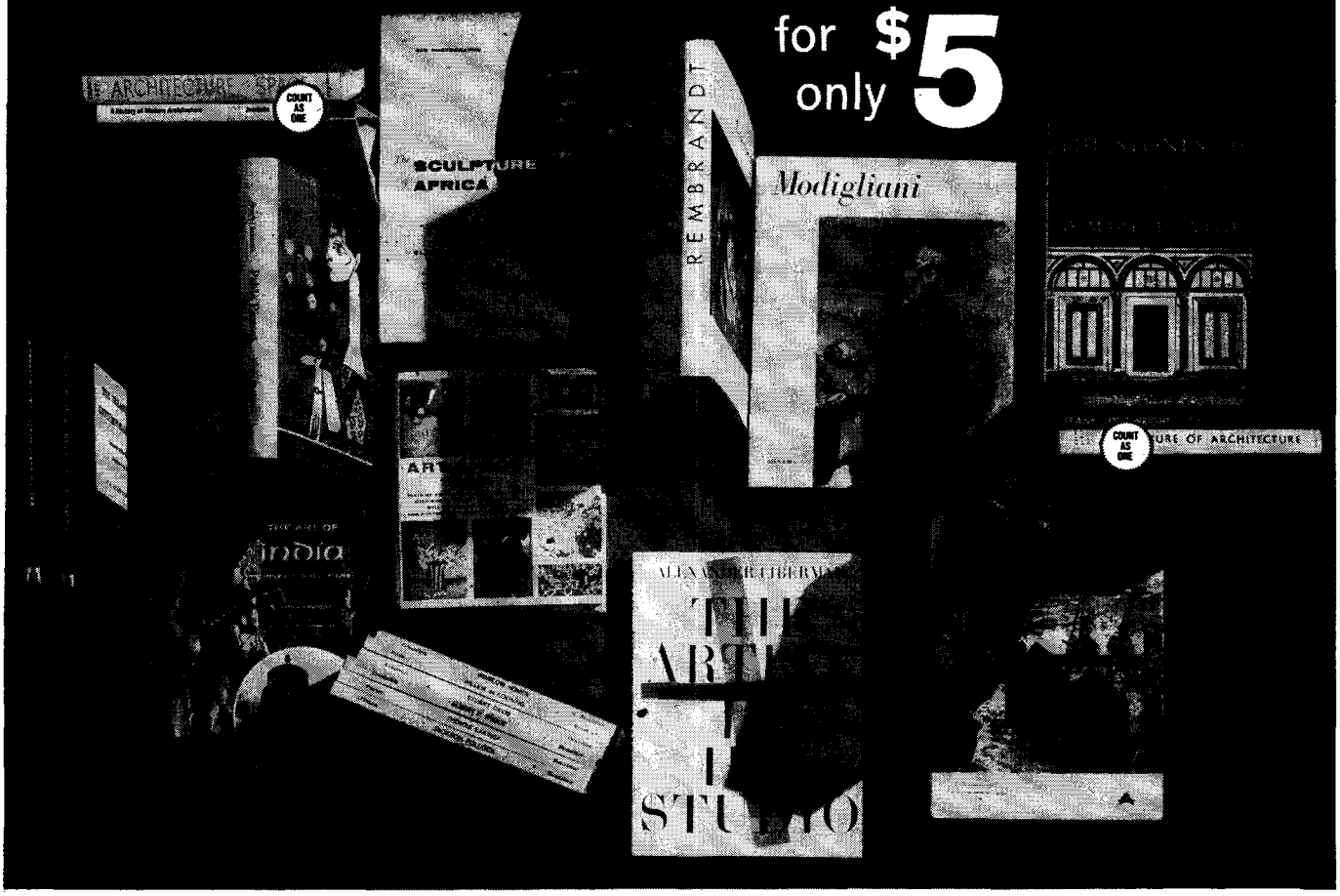
Blended Scotch Whisky... 86.8 Proof. Imported by Canada Dry Corporation, New York, N.Y.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Seven Arts Book Society

offers you the exceptional opportunity to build what André Malraux described as "a museum without walls"—to enrich your home with the finest books on the arts—and at substantial savings. The selections of The Seven Arts Book Society—like those pictured below—are all books of permanent value: oversize, richly illustrated volumes with definitive texts. Moreover, as a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 30% and more. Why not begin your trial membership today? Discover for yourself the great advantages of belonging to this unique organization. You may begin your membership with any one of the magnificent books shown here at the special introductory price of $5.

choose any one for only $5



ART SINCE 1945, Will Grohmann, Sam Hunter, Marcel Brion, and Sir Herbert Read. 180 reproductions (60 in color), 400 pp., 9¼ x 11¼. Retail $15.00. Member's price $11.95.

THE GREAT AMERICAN ARTISTS SERIES. Six handsomely boxed volumes with more than 480 illustrations (96 in color): WINSLOW HOMER and ALBERT RYDER, by Lloyd Goodrich; THOMAS EAKINS, by Fairfield Porter; WILLEM DE KOONING, by Thomas B. Hess; STUART DAVIS, by E. C. Goossen; JACKSON POLLOCK, by Frank O'Hara. Retail $29.75. Member's price $16.95.

THE NOTEBOOKS OF LEONARDO DA VINCI, edited by Edward MacCurdy. 2 vols., boxed, 1248 pp., 5½ x 8¼. 8 pp. of illus. Retail $10.00. Member's price $7.50.

***THE NATURAL HOUSE and THE FUTURE OF ARCHITECTURE.** Both by Frank Lloyd Wright. Fully illustrated with plans, maps, drawings, and photographs. Combined retail price $15.00. Member's price (for both books) $11.00.

PABLO PICASSO, Wilhelm Boeck and Jaime Sabartès. 606 reproductions (44 in full color), 524 pp., 8½ x 12. Retail $17.50. Member's price $13.50.

THE SCULPTURE OF AFRICA, William Fagg and Eliot Elisofon. 405 superb photographs, 256 pp., 11 x 14. Retail $15.00. Member's price $10.95.

THE ART OF INDIA, Louis Frederic. The resplendent pageant of 4000 years of Indian art vividly represented. 426 gravure illustrations, 468 pp., 9 x 12½. Retail $17.50. Member's price $12.95.

MONET, by William C. Seitz. 9¾ x 12¼, 133 illustrations (48 in full color, tipped-in). Retail $15.00. Member's price $11.95.

THE STONES OF FLORENCE, Mary McCarthy. 140 full page photographs (12 in glowing color), 9 x 11. Retail $15.00. Member's price $10.95.

***A HISTORY OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE,** Jürgen Joedicke. A comprehensive survey with 465 illus. 326 pp., 8½ x 10½; and **ARCHITECTURE AS SPACE:** HOW TO LOOK AT ARCHITECTURE, Bruno Zevi. 186 illus., 288 pp., 8¼ x 10¼. Combined retail price $17.50. Member's price (for both books) $13.45.

THE ARTIST IN HIS STUDIO, by Alexander Liberman. A unique blending of photographs of 39 foremost artists at work—from Renoir through today—with an informative essay on each artist based on personal interviews. 246 pp., 9¾ x 12¾, 250 illustrations (50 in color). Retail $17.50. Member's price $12.50.

MODIGLIANI, Franco Russoli. Introduction by Jean Cocteau. 46 full page reproductions (36 in color and tipped-in), 11 x 14. Retail $15.00. Member's price $11.95.

REMBRANDT, Ludwig Münz. 50 tipped-in color reproductions, 21 etchings, 17 drawings, 22 text illustrations; 160 pp., 9¾ x 12¾. Retail $15.00. Member's price $11.95.

THE TREASURIES OF CONTEMPORARY HOUSES. Called "the finest collection of architect-designed houses ever published." 2 volumes, boxed, more than 1000 photographs, plans, and drawings (8 pp. in color), 452 pp., 9 x 12. Retail $14.50. Member's price $11.50.

***Two books counting as one selection**

The Seven Arts Book Society

215 Park Avenue South New York 3, N. Y.

You may enter my name as a member and send me the selection of my choice for only $5 (plus a slight charge for postage and handling). I agree to take as few as six additional selections—or alternates in the course of my membership. I am to receive each month without charge the attractive Seven Arts News containing an extensive review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of all other books available to me at member's prices. If I do not want the selection announced I can return your simple form saying "send me nothing," or use it to order another book from the more than 100 authoritative volumes offered in the course of a year. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the six additional selections or alternates.

Selection.....

Mr.
Mrs.....
Miss (please print full name)

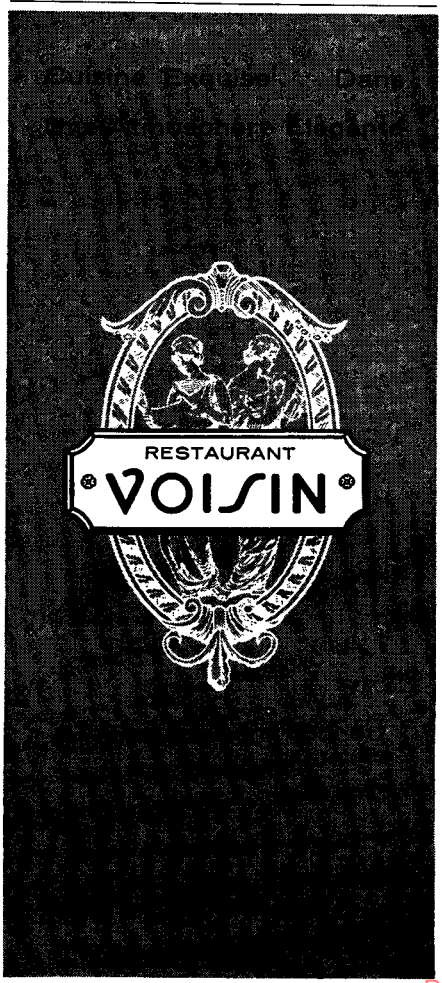
Address.....

City.....Zone....State.....

S61-56

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Only Cognac Made and Bottled at The Chateau de Cognac. IMPORTED OTARD COGNAC. V. S. O. P., 80 PROOF 3 STAR, 84 PROOF • SCHENLEY IMPORT CO., NEW YORK.



THE REPORTER

THE MAGAZINE OF FACTS AND IDEAS

MAX ASCOLI, *Editor and Publisher*

Executive Editor, Philip Horton • *Managing Editor*, Robert Bingham
Senior Editor, Gouverneur Paulding • *Washington* Editor, Douglass Cater
Associate Editor, Cyrilly Abels • *Art Director*, Reg Massie
Assistant Managing Editor, Derek Morgan
Staff Writers: Claire Sterling, Marya Mannes, Paul Jacobs, Edmond Taylor
Assistant to the Managing Editor, Louisa Messolonghites • *Librarian*, Ruth Ames

General Manager, John J. Borghi
Circulation Manager, George Hinckley • *Director of Advertising*, Harry R. Davis
Director of Promotion, Shirley Katzander • *Production Manager*, Ann Hollyday Sharp

VOLUME 24, NO. 11 **MAY 25, 1961**

THE REPORTER'S NOTES 12

FOREIGN POLICY AFTER CUBA—AN EDITORIAL . . . . . *Max Ascoli* 18

The Stakes in Latin America

SECOND THOUGHTS ON THE 'ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS' . . . *Albert O. Hirschman* 20

THE ANTI-SOVIET LEFTISTS OF PERU . . . . . *Gladys Delmas* 23

At Home & Abroad

TRADE POLICY: A STRATEGY FOR THE COMING BATTLE . . *Senator Jacob K. Javits* 26

WHO GETS NEW GUINEA? . . . . . *John Williams* 29

THE WINDS OF CHANGE AND THE LION OF JUDAH . . . . . *Jeanne Contini* 31

HOW CATHOLICS FEEL ABOUT FEDERAL SCHOOL AID . . . . . *Daniel P. Moynihan* 34

Views & Reviews

FOREIGN SOIL—A SHORT STORY . . . . . *Robin White* 39

LET'S SEE YOUR RAPPORT CARD . . . . . *Elaine Kendall* 44

RECORD NOTES . . . . . *Roland Gelatt* 46

Books:

CONTEMPT IS A POOR CRITIC . . . . . *Wayne Andrews* 48

FROM VERSAILLES TO VIENTIANE . . . . . *George Steiner* 51

SECOND HOME . . . . . *Elizabeth Bowen* 54

THE REPORTER PUZZLE 38

Editorial and Business Offices:

660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

Manuscripts or artwork submitted to The Reporter should be accompanied by addressed envelope and return postage. The publisher assumes no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts or artwork.

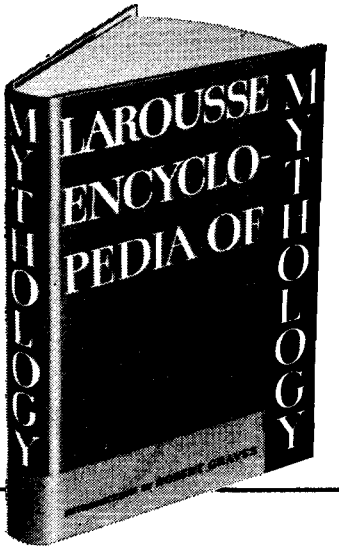
THE REPORTER, May 25, 1961, Volume 24, No. 11. Second-class postage paid at New York, New York, and at Dayton, Ohio. Published every other Thursday except for omission of two summer issues by The Reporter Magazine Company, 660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y. © 1961 by The Reporter Magazine Company. All rights reserved under Pan-American Copyright Convention. Subscription prices, United States, Canada, U. S. Possessions and Pan-American Union: One year $6, Two years $9.50, Three years $12. All other countries: One year $7, Two years $11.50, Three years $15. Please give four weeks' notice when changing address, giving old and new address. **Send notice of undelivered copies on Form 3579 to: The Reporter, McCall St., Dayton 1, Ohio.** Indexed in *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Save as much as $27.50

with this Introductory Offer from the Marboro Book Club

Any 3 for $3.95 with a trial membership



The complete fifteen-dollar
Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology

Introduction by *Robert Graves*. The only complete encyclopedia of World Mythology from pre-Biblical Egypt and pre-Homeric Greece to the farthest reaches of Africa, the Orient, and the Pacific. Illustrated with an incomparable assemblage of authentic Painting, Sculpture, Symbols, Idols, Ritual and Sacrificial Objects, many rarely seen by Western eyes. 8½" x 11½". 868 illustrations, some in full color.
List Price $15.00

UP TO $31.45 WORTH OF BOOKS—yours for only $3.95—(and such books!). The distinguished volumes listed here sell regularly for as much as $15.00 apiece. Most of them are Marboro Book Club "exclusives"—you would have to pay full price for them anywhere else. So you see, this is no ordinary offer. But then, this is no ordinary book club.

A SELECT CIRCLE OF READERS. The Marboro Book Club was established for readers who know what they want without reference to the bestseller lists.

Like a co-operative, which it resembles in many ways, the Marboro Book Club enables readers who share the same tastes to *pool* their *purchasing power* and thereby save an average of *one-half* on the books they want most.

SAVE 50% ON BOOKS ALL YEAR! This purchasing-power pool makes possible *important savings* through low Members' Prices. But that isn't all. With every four selections (or alternates) accepted after this introductory offer, you receive a *Free Bonus Book* of your choice. And this extraordinary trial-membership offer means you can start saving today.

REACH FOR A PENCIL NOW and send for the three books you want right now. Remember you'll save as much as $27.50 below regular bookstore prices. Mail coupon today while offer lasts.

THE LAST OF THE JUST. By André Schwarz-Bart. "A monumental masterpiece."—*Saturday Review*. Winner of the Prix Goncourt. **List Price $4.95**

TOULOUSE-LAUTREC. A Definitive Biography by Henri Perruchot. A milestone of art scholarship, illustrated with every photograph available today of Lautrec, his friends and family, and the women made immortal by his work. **List Price $6.00**

GROWING UP ABSURD. By Paul Goodman. "A great book. A major breakthrough in social criticism."—*Norman Podhoretz, Commentary*. **List Price $4.50**

STUART DAVIS. By E. C. Goossen. Definitive study of this great American artist. More than 80 reproductions, including 16 full-color plates. **List Price $4.95**

THE WASTEMAKERS. By Vance Packard. One of the most talked-about books in America today. By the author of *The Hidden Persuaders* and *The Status Seekers*. Another Marboro Book Club *Exclusive*.
List Price $4.50

A Year's Subscription to PARTISAN REVIEW, America's distinguished literary magazine.
List Price $5.50 Per Year

THE STATUS SEEKERS. Vance Packard's eye-opening exploration of class behavior in America.
List Price $4.50

THE MANDARINS. By Simone de Beauvoir. The much-discussed novel, winner of the Prix Goncourt. 610 pages. **List Price $6.00**

JAPANESE INN. By Oliver Statler. "A strangely beautiful book.... Sheer delight."—*San Francisco Chronicle*. "A magnificent piece of writing. One of the most beautiful books to be published this year."—*James A. Michener*. Illustrated with prints, woodcuts and drawings. **List Price $6.50**

DUAL SELECTION—COUNTS AS ONE

FIRMAMENT OF TIME. By Loren Eiseley, author of *The Immense Journey*. How modern science has changed man's view of himself and his world.

THE LIBERAL HOUR. John Kenneth Galbraith, the author of *The Affluent Society* explodes still more of the myths that blind America to today's realities. **Combined List Price $7.00**

AMERICAN SCHOLAR READER. Great writing from this distinguished American quarterly. Authors include Santayana, Margaret Mead, Edmund Wilson, Erich Fromm. **List Price $7.95**

THE LAST TEMPTATION OF CHRIST. By Nikos Kazantzakis, author of *The Greek Passion*. "An extraordinary work of art."—*Saturday Review*. **List Price $6.00**

THE WORLD OF ROME. By Michael Grant. What it was like to be a citizen of Imperial Rome during its era of unparalleled power. Companion volume to *The Greek Experience*. **List Price $6.50**

THE NEW GOLDEN BOUGH. By Sir James G. Frazer. Edited by Theodor H. Gaster. A completely new and modern edition, revised in the light of the most recent discoveries in anthropology. **List Price $8.50**

LIFE OF MICHELANGELO. By Charles H. Morgan. Illustrated with more than 100 exceptional plates.
List Price $6.00

SERMONS AND SODA WATER. By John O'Hara. "His best work in years."—*Time*. Complete unabridged text of the bestselling 3-volume $5.95 edition, in a special one-volume edition exclusive with the Marboro Book Club.

THE PHENOMENON OF MAN. By Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. "One of the great books of the Twentieth Century."—*Ashley Montagu*. **List Price $5.00**

NO MONEY NEED BE SENT NOW.

MARBORO BOOK CLUB,
131 Varick Street, New York 13, N. Y.
You may enroll me as a trial member of the Marboro Book Club and send me these THREE books for only $3.95

1_____

2_____

3_____

Forthcoming selections and alternates will be described to me in a Monthly Advance Bulletin and I may decline any book simply by returning the printed form always provided. I agree to buy as few as four additional books (or alternates) at the reduced Members' Price during the next twelve *months: and I may resign at any time thereafter.* I will receive a free BONUS BOOK for every four additional books I accept.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE___ STATE____

☐ Please bill me at $3.95 plus shipping charge.
☐ I enclose $3.95. (Club will pay shipping.)

GUARANTEE: If you are not completely satisfied with this SPECIAL OFFER, you may return the books within 7 days and your membership will be cancelled.

MR-767

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Where Is the Welfare Process Leading Us?

FACTS you need to know about the welfare system presented clearly and succinctly in this provocative volume:

AMERICAN WELFARE

Alfred de Grazia & Ted Gurr

An extremely broad portrayal of the many ways in which the goods of the world's richest nation go to its people and to those abroad.

$6.50

Order your copy now from your bookseller or from Dept. R-5.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS
Washington Sq., N.Y. 3

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

SINCE the Cuban disaster there has been a roaring debate not only about what went wrong in that unfortunate episode but also about how the foreign policy of our country can be put right. In his editorial **Max Ascoli** takes issue with some commentators whom he greatly respects and points out how in his opinion there can be recklessness in moderation. Some of the advice that has been given the nation by some public figures may imply, if followed through, a disastrous abandonment of our commitments.

One of the major centers of attention is still Latin America. The fact that this southern continent shares the same name as the northern one in which we live has probably led many of us to assume a far greater degree of neighborliness or solidarity with the Latinos south of the Rio Grande than the Latinos themselves are willing to acknowledge. With the Monroe Doctrine, we have tried for more than a century to insulate Latin America from the conflicts of the outside world. Unfortunately, it so happens that this has also slowed down the process of development of Latin-American countries. Now the Kennedy administration is trying a bold new program both to bolster our solidarity with Latin-American nations and to prod them toward the adoption of much-needed reforms. But as **Albert O. Hirschman** points out, there are great dangers inherent in the *alianza para progreso*. Mr. Hirschman is professor of International Economic Relations at Columbia University. He is the author of *The Strategy of Economic Development*, now available in Yale paperback, and is at present editing *Latin American Issues: Essays and Commentary* for the Twentieth Century Fund. . . . It is good to know that in some Latin-American countries there are genuine democratic parties—even parties of the Left—which, while they may not be inclined to love us as much as we would like, certainly prefer us to the Russians. The Aprista party of Peru has a great popular following and its strength has been evidenced by its amazing survival despite the crude persecutions it has had to endure. **Gladys Delmas** is an American living in South America.

THE BATTLE CRY of protectionism is heard again in the land and, as the pressures for raising tariffs on imports increase, it seems that Congress and the administration are heading for a crucial battle on this issue just at a time when we have agreed to join the Organization for Economic Development. **Senator Jacob K. Javits** (R., New York) discusses the dangers of allowing ourselves to be persuaded into new protectionist measures and outlines the proposals he has already made to Congress for stimulating exports and for helping those who are seriously hit by competition from foreign goods. Senator Javits is chairman of the Economic Committee of NATO Parliamentarians. The thorough knowledge of international affairs he exhibits in this article gives further evidence of how wise he has been to remain on the national scene instead of running for mayor of New York. . . . President Sukarno of Indonesia, already over his head in financial difficulties, is eager to add the almost barren territory of Dutch West New Guinea to his realm. **John Williams,** a Southeast Asia correspondent for the Melbourne *Herald* group of newspapers, reports from West New Guinea on the impasse between Sukarno and the Netherlands government, and shows that much depends upon the actions of Australia—and, of course, of the Kennedy administration. . . . Mengistu Newaye, sentenced to death for leading the revolt against Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia last December, told the court, "The seed we sowed has taken root." **Jeanne Contini** is an American free-lance writer. . . . **Daniel P. Moynihan** discusses the issue of Federal aid to schools from the Catholic viewpoint. Mr. Moynihan is director of the New York State Research Project at the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University.

Robin White was born in India, the son of American missionary parents. He is the author of *Elephant Hill, House of Many Rooms,* and *Men and Angels,* all published by Harper. . . . **Elaine Kendall** is a free-lance writer. . . . **Roland Gelatt** is editor of *High Fidelity*. . . . **Wayne Andrews,** who reviews several recent books on architecture, is himself the author of *Architecture, Ambition and Americans* (Harper) and *Architecture in America* (Atheneum). . . . **George Steiner's** *The Death of Tragedy* was recently published by Knopf. . . . Among **Elizabeth Bowen's** novels are *Death of the Heart* and *Heat of the Day,* both published by Knopf.

Our cover is by **Gregorio Prestopino.**

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Seminar on Survival

The subject of "world affairs" is no longer a cocktail party gambit, nor should it be reserved for the lecture platform.

Today, we need to be informed—literally for our survival. How can we avoid another Laos? The Black Muslims . . . who are they? What do they want? Are we losing in the race for nuclear weapons, in the exploration of outer space?

To answer such questions the Contemporary Affairs Society proposes a seminar on survival, right in your own home, with your family and friends. The important books recommended for this seminar are chosen by men you can trust, who are themselves authorities in government, science, politics and world affairs.

THE CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS SOCIETY

The Sponsors of the Contemporary Affairs Society are **Walter Lippmann, Dorothy Fosdick** and **Marquis Childs.** The Board of Sponsors confirms nominations to the Board of Judges and advises on literary projects in the field of contemporary affairs. The Board of Judges makes the monthly selection.

OUR BOARD OF JUDGES:

Richard Rovere, staff writer for "The New Yorker," author of its "Letter from Washington."

John Sherman Cooper, U. S. Senator from Kentucky and former Ambassador to India.

Roscoe Drummond, columnist for "The New York Herald Tribune"; co-author, "Duel at the Brink."

Ernest K. Lindley, Senior Editor, Director of the Washington Bureau of "Newsweek"; columnist and author.

Louis M. Lyons, Curator of the Nieman Fellowships, Harvard University.

A. H. Raskin, Labor Affairs Reporter of The New York Times.

Jerome B. Wiesner, Science Adviser to the President; Director, Research Lab. of Electronics, M.I.T.

The Contemporary Affairs Society will not shy at controversy, nor suppress any unpopular opinion, nor avoid books that may disturb as well as stimulate you. We will offer you, in an objective spirit, the books that we believe you will need to read to help you understand this crucial half of the 20th Century.

Washington correspondent, **Robert G. Spivack,** whose syndicated column "Watch on the Potomac" appears in newspapers across the country, is Chairman of the Society's Planning Board.

FREE OFFER IF YOU JOIN NOW

By joining now you can take advantage of this special introductory offer and receive *free*

EITHER

A year's subscription to one of these magazines:

Daedalus
The Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Each quarterly issue is organized around a single topic of contemporary importance, such as Arms and Arms Control.

Partisan Review
Published bimonthly, the Partisan Review offers, in addition to fiction, poetry and criticism, essays on general cultural problems.

Commentary
A monthly magazine, Commentary offers its readers many of today's new ideas long before they become part of the public consciousness. Published by the American Jewish Committee.

Nieman Reports
A Quarterly Review of Journalism, the Nieman Reports carries authoritative articles by leading journalists on the problems of a free press.

OR

A Dictionary in *one* of these languages:

French Dictionary
German Dictionary
Italian Dictionary
Spanish Dictionary
Latin Dictionary

All Cassell's Dictionaries, thumb-indexed, famous for their authoritativeness, convenience and comprehensiveness. French Dictionary, Retail Price, $5.75; others, $7.75.

English-Russian Dictionary – V. K. Müller's Dictionary. Sixth Edition. Invaluable for any student of the Russian language or culture. Retail Price $6.95.

As a member you need purchase only five books offered by the Contemporary Affairs Society within a year, for the most part at substantial savings. You will also receive, free of charge, the monthly publication, "Contemporary Affairs," that will report to you on important new books and contain articles on critical world affairs by eminent writers. And with every fourth book you purchase, you will receive a bonus book free.

If you are looking for a gift for your friends that is stimulating and absorbing, give a year's membership in the Contemporary Affairs Society. Use the coupon at right to obtain full information on our gift plan.

YOU MAY START YOUR MEMBERSHIP WITH ANY OF THESE OUTSTANDING BOOKS

	Pub Price	Your Price
☐ **#68/CONGO: BACKGROUND OF CONFLICT** Alan P. Merriam	$6.00	$5.00
☐ **#20/THE NECESSITY FOR CHOICE** Henry A. Kissinger	$5.50	$4.50
☐ **#14/THE PURPOSE OF AMERICAN POLITICS** Hans J. Morgenthau	$5.00	$4.00
☐ **#71/MAN AND SPACE: THE NEXT DECADE** Ralph E. Lapp	$4.95	$3.95
☐ **#15/THE ATTACK ON WORLD POVERTY** Andrew Shonfield	$5.00	$4.00
☐ **#19/CONGRESS, ITS CONTEMPORARY ROLE** Ernest S. Griffith	$4.50	$3.50
☐ **#29/PRESIDENTIAL POWER: THE POLITICS OF LEADERSHIP** Richard E. Neustadt	$5.95	$4.95
☐ **#32/THE AMERICAN SUPREME COURT** Robert G. McCloskey	$5.00	$4.00
☐ **# 2/THE UNFINISHED COUNTRY** Max Lerner	$7.50	$4.95
☐ **#77/THE BLACK MUSLIMS IN AMERICA** C. Eric Lincoln	$4.95	$3.95

CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS SOCIETY

USE THIS COUPON TO JOIN TODAY. 4R

Please enroll me as a member of the Contemporary Affairs Society and send me at once the magazine subscription *or* Dictionary which I have indicated. I agree to purchase at least five books from you during the coming year. I understand that with every fourth book I purchase, I will receive a bonus book free.

CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS SOCIETY
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

I have checked in one of the boxes below the one-year magazine subscription or Dictionary I want free.

☐ Daedalus
☐ Partisan Review
☐ Commentary
☐ Nieman Reports
☐ Cassell's French Dictionary
☐ Cassell's German Dictionary
☐ Cassell's Italian Dictionary
☐ Cassell's Spanish Dictionary
☐ Cassell's Latin Dictionary
☐ V. K. Müller's English-Russian Dictionary

In addition send book(s) ☐ ☐ ☐

☐ Please send me information on your gift plan.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

☐ CHECK ENCLOSED *(save postage and handling)*
☐ BILL ME LATER *(postage and handling extra)*

District of Columbia residents please add 2% sales tax. New York City residents please add 3% sales tax.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The new poem by Nobel Prize winner

St.-John Perse

CHRONIQUE

The Swedish Academy called CHRONIQUE "a prophetic appeal to Europe to consider the fatal moment, the turning point in the course of historical events."

Limited edition, in French and English translation by Robert Fitzgerald. Includes a bibliography of Perse's work in French and in translation. $3.00

A new edition of his epic poem of the new world

WINDS

Translated by HUGH CHISHOLM. French and English texts on facing pages. $3.00

Other volumes by St.-John Perse available in Bollingen Series:

EXILE AND OTHER POEMS	$2.00
ÉLOGES AND OTHER POEMS	$2.00
SEAMARKS	$3.50
WINDS (deluxe 9 x 12)	$5.00

Published for
BOLLINGEN FOUNDATION
by Pantheon Book, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14

CORRESPONDENCE

SPACE

To the Editor: The articles of Stuart H. Loory ("Why This Space Race?") and of L. A. DuBridge ("A Scientist Calls for Common Sense," both in the April 27 issue of *The Reporter*) must appear to Russian readers as apologies for our failure to be the nation first to orbit a man around the earth. Even for us it may be difficult to get beneath this surface impression to the basic point that the purposes, methods, and results of our space exploration have far more scientific validity than the accomplishments of the Soviet Union's gadgetry.

But whereas the Russians may miss the basic point, the far sadder fact is that many Americans who get it may not respect it. Your editorial in that issue concludes: "If they find fun in it, men may monkey with the firmament, but they are utterly lost if they forget the moral law within. We feel like praying for Major Gagarin, and for the Russian people." The Russians don't need our prayers—they are doing quite well without ours or even their own. We are the ones who need praying for—we who claim to know the true values of science but choose to venerate instead the glitter of gadgetry and technique. The eyes of a nation whose scientists have confirmed by experiment the Van Allen radiation-belt hypothesis are trained only on the improvisers of Project Mercury. This is a genuine moral problem, and it belongs not to Russian society but to our own.

RICHARD F. FRENCH
New York

To the Editor: Now that we have put Commander Shepard into space, perhaps we can all relax somewhat from the childish race for national prestige and concentrate instead on the really important contest to learn all men can about our universe—a contest in which the United States is not and has not been behind.

J. F. NOONAN
Detroit

To the Editor: I am glad to see this kind of coverage of our U.S. space program and of the controversial issues regarding our reaction to the Soviet accomplishment of putting a man into space.

I have spoken my piece about this on a number of occasions, and indeed, Mr. Loory in his article quotes the substance of my comment and my view. I am in general agreement with Dr. L. A. DuBridge's statement in this same issue.

J. R. KILLIAN, JR.
Chairman of the Corporation
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

To the Editor: Stuart H. Loory gives the same type of reactionary arguments which Fulton, the Wright Brothers, Marconi, and Tsiovolsky had to put up with.

The main objection which I have to the article is that it has no feeling for the dynamic pioneering spirit of the space-flight enthusiasts. We have lost the pioneering spirit of our ancestors. If we do not regain this spirit we have lost the psychological war with the Russians.

NICKOLAUS LEGGETT
New York

To the Editor: I am not convinced that it is imperative that we surpass the Russians in one unique segment of science—the probing of outer space—but I do consider it vital that we excel in the earth and life sciences as a whole. And I think we do and will.

WARREN G. MAGNUSON
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor: The articles and editorial in the April 27 issue of *The Reporter* suggest, among other things, that—"space race" or not—the results to be expected from our space programs will in large part be dependent upon the caliber of the leadership that is involved.

An example of the intellectual attainments and intestinal fortitude of this leadership, I feel, was demonstrated on March 6 at the hearings of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics in the following interchange between the chairman of that committee, the Hon. Overton Brooks (D., Louisiana), and the Group Vice-President of Lockheed Aircraft Corp., Mr. L. Eugene Root.

MR. ROOT: ". . . In other words, there is a tendency, of course, to develop a motor without realizing it has to fit into a vehicle. We wouldn't want to have that.

"We have all been through that horrible situation. We would like to put it all together as an entity early in the game. That is the most important single thing, that you permit that integration, rather than having a motor you can't use because it's too late to get the rest of it in gear."

THE CHAIRMAN: "Consolidate it? I prefer that word to 'integration.' Consolidate it."

MR. ROOT: "I know I was going to do that some time."

THE CHAIRMAN: "Consolidate it into one."

MR. ROOT: "Yes, sir. I want to change the record. 'Consolidated into one.'"

THE CHAIRMAN: "Any questions?"

MR. ROOT: "Unfortunately from a scientific point of view 'integrated' is still a fairly decent word. It means to

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Imagine,

if you will, the value of this fabulous offer which is being made to new members as we launch our Twenty-sixth Series of fine editions:

AS A FIRST SELECTION: Thomas Paine's RIGHTS OF MAN, with Lynd Ward's color lithographs to add a rich, new dimension to the dramatic force of this book which was conceived by the American and French Revolutions. Attractively slipcased.

AND—as a whopping big introductory bonus, a choice of either of these magnificent sets:

✻THE THREE MUSKETEERS and TWENTY YEARS AFTER by Dumas, both elegant volumes brilliantly illustrated by France's popular artist, Edy Legrand. Gold-colored slipcases. Or . . .

✻LES MISÉRABLES by Victor Hugo in two volumes. Here is Hugo's monumental epic masterfully illustrated with more than five hundred drawings by Lynd Ward. Individually slipcased.

UNQUESTIONABLY, THIS exciting offer (3 for $3.95) is the best opportunity in over 25 years to start *your* collection of fine Heritage editions. If you enroll now you may select twelve books—or even as many as fifteen books during the coming year—at the low membership price of $3.95 each! (These same volumes will range up to $8.50 in the bookshops.)

AMONG THE OTHER GREAT books to be offered during this coming Series year—one each month—will be:

THE MAGIC MOUNTAIN by Thomas Mann, illustrated with color wood-engravings by Felix Hoffmann.

THE PICKWICK PAPERS by Charles Dickens; illustrated with color drawings by Gordon Ross.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN by Harriet Beecher Stowe, with illustrations by Miguel Covarrubias.

GULLIVER'S TRAVELS by Jonathan Swift, illustrated with wood-engravings by Fritz Eichenberg.

AROUND THE WORLD IN EIGHTY DAYS by Jules Verne, illustrated with color drawings by E. A. Wilson.

THE TOILERS OF THE SEA by Victor Hugo, with more than seventy wood-engravings by Tranquillo Marangoni.

NOSTROMO by Joseph Conrad, with pen drawings and color illustrations by Lima de Freitas.

THE BOOK OF PSALMS, King James version, set as verse, designed and decorated by Valenti Angelo.

WAVERLEY by Sir Walter Scott, with color drawings by Robert Ball.

VIRGIL'S ECLOGUES—the Calverley verse translation; with water-colors by Vertès. And . . . more than thirty other fine Heritage books-in-print listed in the Club's free Prospectus.

NOW YOU CAN ENJOY in your own home books drawn from the world's great literature—designed by famous typographers, illustrated by the world's renowned artists, printed on fine papers and handsomely bound and boxed—*for only $3.95 each!*

MAIL THE COUPON *promptly* and receive three beautiful Heritage books for the price of one ($3.95) and a copy of the descriptive Prospectus.

Reservation Coupon

THE HERITAGE CLUB
595 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK 22

Please send me *at once* RIGHTS OF MAN and the 2-volume Bonus Set indicated:

☐ LES MISÉRABLES in two volumes; OR
☐ THE THREE MUSKETEERS and TWENTY YEARS AFTER

I understand that all three will be billed to me for *only* $3.95 and that you will mail a copy of the Prospectus from which I may select the other books on my new membership. It is understood that if I am not delighted with all three books I may return them within ten days and my membership reservation will be cancelled.

MR.
MRS. _____
MISS (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS _____

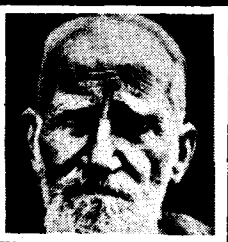
CITY _____ ZONE ____ STATE _____

R-26

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You May Have As Many As 3 Of The First-Rate Books

YOURS FOR $1



TO A YOUNG ACTRESS by Bernard Shaw. Intimate, candid letters from Shaw to the much-younger Molly Tompkins. "Reaching out toward love . . . Shaw is at his most human in this unexpected book." — Harper's. Large art-book format. Retail $8.50.

YOURS FOR $1

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR READER edited by Hiram Haydn and Betsy Saunders. A brilliant anthology containing the 50 outstanding contributions published by The American Scholar during the last 30 years. Retail $7.95.

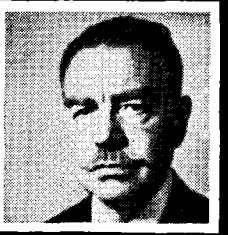
YOURS FOR $1

MOUNTOLIVE and CLEA Dual Selection by Lawrence Durrell. The third and fourth novels of the Alexandria Quartet, an extraordinary investigation of modern love. Retail $7.90

BOTH BOOKS $1

THE JOYCE COUNTRY by William York Tindall. A treat for the admirers of James Joyce: An impeccably produced photo-portrait of the places in Dublin you will remember from Joyce's great works. Large format. Retail $5.95.

YOURS FOR $1



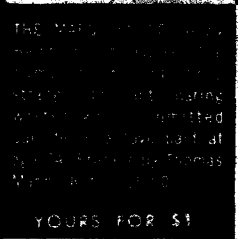
YOURS FOR $1

THE HOUSE OF INTELLECT by Jacques Barzun. How intellect, the prime force in Western civilization, is being destroyed by our culture in the name of art, science, and philanthropy. Retail $5.00.

YOURS FOR $1

CLASSICS AND COMMERCIALS by Edmund Wilson. With characteristic wit and style, Mr. Wilson presents brilliant studies of literary topics and personalities that range from Shakespeare to Dali. Retail $5.00.

YOURS FOR $1



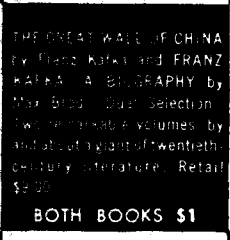
YOURS FOR $1

NO! IN THUNDER by Leslie Fiedler, America's angriest young man. No! In Thunder was written in "the hope of offending all those with 'cemeteries to defend.'" Retail $5.00

YOURS FOR $1

THE INTELLECTUALS edited by George B. de Huszar. Achievements, failures, and problems of intellectuals, assayed by some of the most prominent intellectuals themselves. Retail $7.50.

YOURS FOR $1



BOTH BOOKS $1

FOUR SCREENPLAYS OF INGMAR BERGMAN by Ingmar Bergman. Miraculously transformed into literature: Smiles Of A Summer Night, The Seventh Seal, Wild Strawberries, and The Magician. Retail $6.00.

YOURS FOR $1

THE WIND IN THE WILLOWS by Kenneth Grahame. A superb children's classic now available in a beautiful library edition. Retail $5.00.

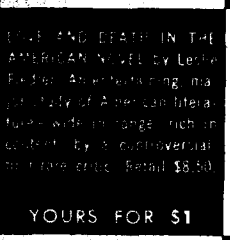
YOURS FOR $1

AGEE ON FILM. Pulitzer Prize-winning James Agee, author of A Death in the Family, was the best movie critic this country ever had. Book is amply illustrated with memorable pictures. Retail $6.50.

YOURS FOR $1

THE SEESAW LOG by William Gibson. This lively book about the theater has a cultural meaning that extends far beyond the stage. It includes Gibson's preferred version of his play, Two for the Seesaw. Retail $3.95.

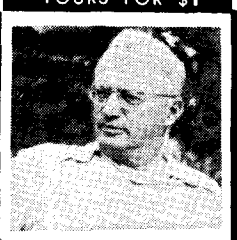
YOURS FOR $1



YOURS FOR $1

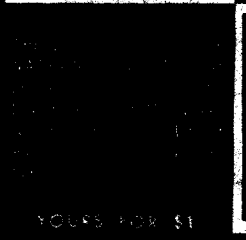
TWENTIETH CENTURY PARODY: AMERICAN AND BRITISH compiled by Burling Lowrey. Among the parodied: Joyce, Conrad, Faulkner, T.S. Eliot, Kerouac. Among the parodists: Beerbohm, Perelman, Thurber. Retail $5.75.

YOURS FOR $1



THE MIND OF AN ASSASSIN by Isaac Don Levine. The remarkable narrative of an extraordinary criminal, the man who killed Leon Trotsky with a pickax. It reveals the terrifying personal history of a Soviet agent. Retail $4.50.

YOURS FOR $1



YOURS FOR $1

THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL DEFENSE by Oskar Morgenstern. This book's main contentions must be accepted or countered before one can go on talking about Russia, atomic weapons, air bases abroad, education at home. Retail $3.95.

YOURS FOR $1

BRAZILIAN ADVENTURE by Peter Fleming. If Max Beerbohm had been sent out to search for Dr. Livingston, the result might have been BRAZILIAN ADVENTURE. An exclusive (and hilarious) Mid-Century offering. Retail $5.00.

YOURS FOR $1

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On These Two Pages For Only $1 Each

Have you noticed that even though most books are reviewed favorably, many prove to be disappointing once you read them? To preclude such disappointments, The Mid-Century Book Society offers only those books that pass what we believe to be the toughest test: Each is read and approved by a distinguished editorial board—Lionel Trilling, Jacques Barzun, and W. H. Auden. Their selections from the fields of biography, history, superior fiction, drama, belles lettres, and current events are reviewed *candidly* in *THE MID-CENTURY* magazine, received free each month by Mid-Century's booming membership, which includes scores of people whose names you would recognize because of their own contributions to the world of culture. The marvel of Mid-Century is that its first-rate books can save you up to 50% or more through member's prices and free selections. Surely there are up to three selections on these two pages that you would want to own at only $1 each as your introduction to membership in America's most discriminating new book service.

THE MID-CENTURY BOOK SOCIETY

OSCAR WILDE by Frank Harris. Now available for the first time in 31 years, this book was described by H. L. Mencken as "the best biography done by an American." Remarkable candor, delightful reading. Retail $7.00.

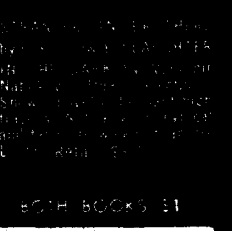
YOURS FOR $1

LET US NOW PRAISE FAMOUS MEN by [illegible] Walker Evans. A classic [illegible] nearly [illegible] combination [illegible] proud and [illegible] of America [illegible]

YOURS FOR $1

[illegible] by [illegible] Ford. W. H. Auden says: "There are not many English novels that deserve to be called great. Parade's End is one of them." Retail $[illegible]

BOTH BOOKS $1

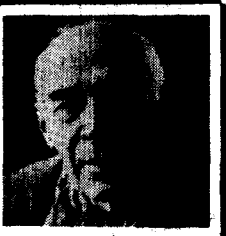


A HERITAGE AND ITS HISTORY and THE PRESENT AND THE PAST (Dual Selection) by Ivy Compton-Burnett. Miss Burnett is one of the great English novelists of this century. Retail $7.25.

BOTH BOOKS $1

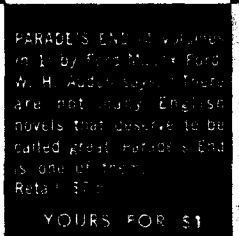
THE HENRY MILLER READER. American censorship has prevented many of Henry Miller's books from being published. The moral importance of his writings is acknowledged by all who have had a chance to know them. Retail $6.50.

YOURS FOR $1



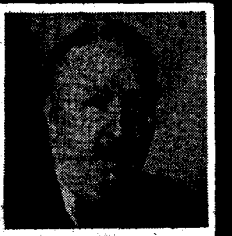
ON POETS AND [illegible] T. S. Eliot has gathered [illegible] years of [illegible] distinguished [illegible] and [illegible] term for [illegible] one of the [illegible] his own [illegible] Retail $[illegible]

YOURS FOR $1



HUMAN [illegible] by W. H. Auden. [illegible] of W. Auden [illegible] Retail $[illegible]

YOURS FOR $1



THE POEM ITSELF edited by Stanley Burnshaw. A work of striking originality. Poems by 45 modern, foreign poets, followed by literal translations, interwoven with stimulating commentaries. Retail $6.50.

YOURS FOR $1

THREE PLAYS BY JOHN OSBORNE—Look Back in Anger, Epitaph for George Dillon, The Entertainer. "Mr. Osborne's dialogue leaps off the page." Retail $8.25.

YOURS FOR $1

LIFE AGAINST DEATH by Norman O. Brown. Far-ranging, thorough-going, extreme and shocking, Life Against Death is the best interpretation of Freud. One of the most interesting and valuable works of our time. Retail $5.00.

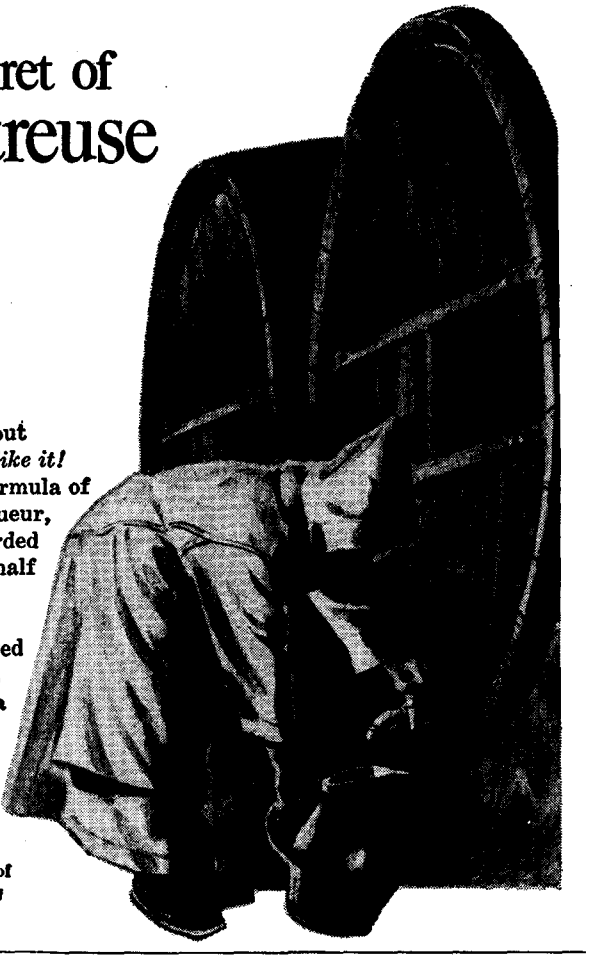
YOURS FOR $1

THE [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] piece [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the secret of Chartreuse

1605

The only thing known about Chartreuse is that *you'll like it!* The rest, the top secret formula of this rare, after-dinner liqueur, has remained closely guarded for well over three and a half centuries at a Monastery high in the French Alps. Chartreuse is superb served straight or over ice—does delicious things to vanilla ice cream or fresh or frozen fruit.



CHARTREUSE

Yellow 86 Proof • Green 110 Proof

For an illustrated booklet on the story of Chartreuse, write: Schieffelin & Co., 30 Cooper Sq., N. Y., Dept. BB

How should you pick a Broker?

In a word — carefully.

Not because there aren't any number of fine firms to choose from — there are.

But even among the finest you still find differences.

Differences in customer service . . .
Differences in physical facilities . . .
Differences in research aid . . .
Differences in personnel training and, *most important of all,*
Differences in fundamental policy.

To help you decide about us, we've just prepared a 32-page booklet that explains in detail just who we are, just what we stand for, just what you can expect when you do business with Merrill Lynch.

We'll be happy to mail a copy of *"This is Merrill Lynch"* to anybody who owns stock — or wants to.

We think you'll find it makes interesting reading. Just address —

Department R-62

Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith Inc.

Members New York Stock Exchange and other principal Stock and Commodity Exchanges

70 PINE STREET, NEW YORK 5, N. Y.

142 offices in U. S., Canada and abroad

pick up a lot of little things and put them together."

THE CHAIRMAN: "Watch your terminology, Mr. Fulton."

MR. ROOT: "Sorry. It will never happen again."

Forward, America!

JOHN SEITZ
Boston

EICHMANN AND ISRAEL

To the Editor: In "Eichmann and the New Israelis" (*The Reporter,* April 27) Alfred Kazin comments: "It is extraordinary how many people in Israel say they are not Zionists . . ." In assessing present-day realities in Israel, wouldn't it be helpful if more press coverage were given to this healthy trend in Israeli thought rather than to the attacks of Ben-Gurion and other Zionists on American Jews? And how many Americans have read this statement by a U.S. Assistant Secretary of State? "To the Israelis I say that you should come to truly look upon yourselves as a Middle Eastern State and see your own future in that context rather than as a headquarters, or nucleus so to speak, of worldwide groupings of peoples of a particular religious faith who must have special rights within and obligations to the Israeli state." (Henry Byroade, 1954.)

NED HANAUER
New York

To the Editor: Mr. Kazin takes issue with certain Israeli officials over their dogma that Jews in the West have no real future in their own countries. Mr. Kazin will find many other well-informed and alert Israeli officials who do not share this viewpoint. I agree with Mr. Kazin that Israel is not likely to survive if the Jews do not survive elsewhere.

IRVING HABERMAN
Sacramento, California

To the Editor: I assume Mr. Kazin means another, more successful attempt at genocide when he writes that even "Israel is not likely to survive if the Jews elsewhere do not survive." Granting that his assumption is correct, it seems to this Jew that there will be at least an inkling of more satisfaction in dying in Israel with a gun in my hand than in a gas chamber.

That's my modern, young, non-Zionist opinion and apparently the opinion too of the new Israeli. If the Eichmann trial bridges the gap between this modern wave of thought and the old pious passiveness and also serves notice to the world that Jews will not again be so easily led to slaughter, it will have accomplished something worthwhile.

HENRY E. SPIER
Berkeley, California

To the Editor: Alfred Kazin has said something that very much needed to be said. It must have taken courage to speak so bluntly on such an emotionally charged issue.

GEORGE GORDON
Philadelphia

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

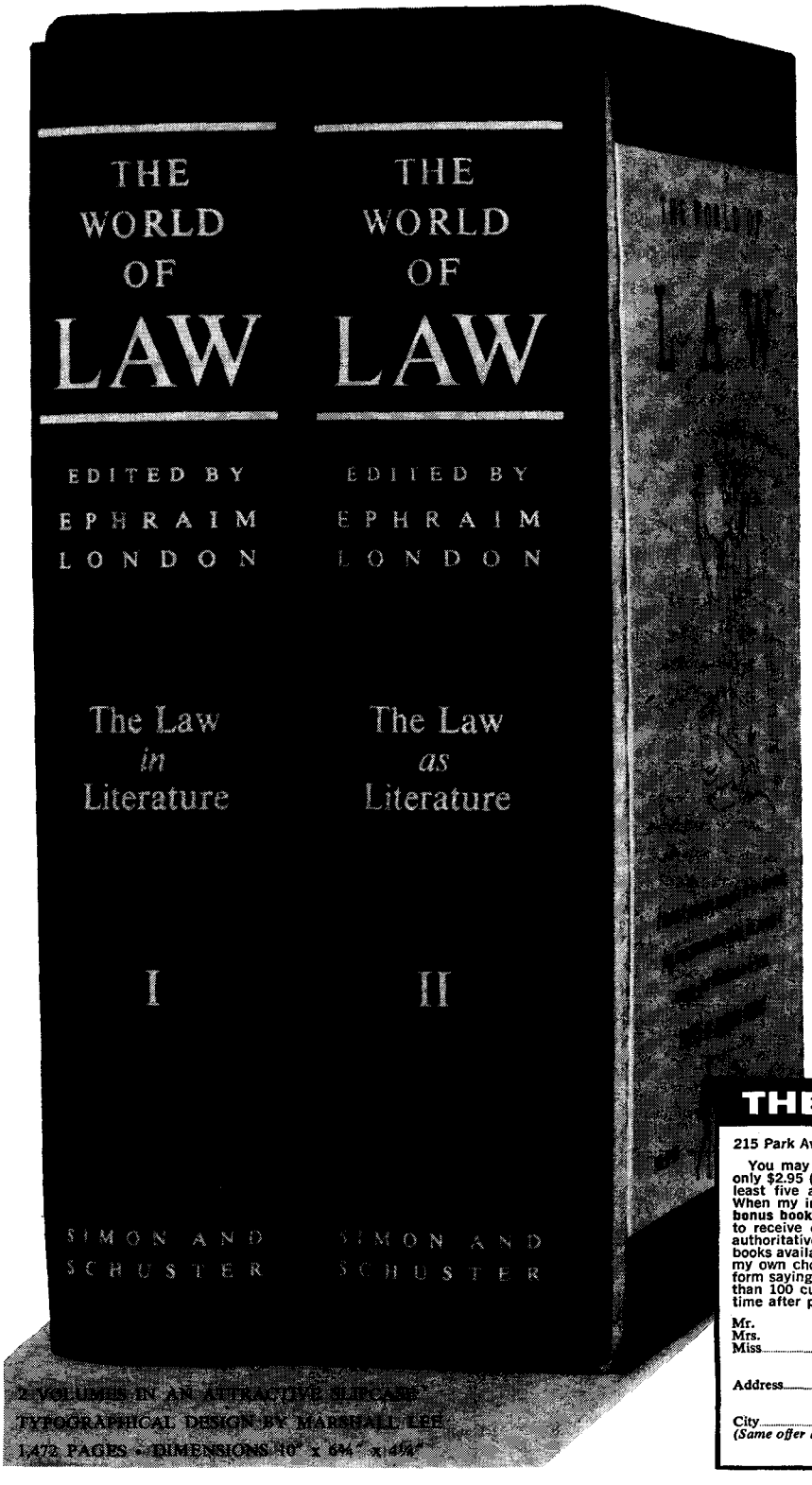
This lavish and exciting home library of the great writings of the law demonstrates that the law is above no one's head—that it is the stuff of life and literature.

THE WORLD OF LAW presents a panorama of the law through history. Here are those who practice the law, and those who preach it; those who make it, those who break it; those who write it and those who write about it. Here are essays, opinions, stories, plays, transcripts of testimony, and records of famous trials—all magnificently displaying the drama and excitement of the law.

Ephraim London, the editor, is responsible for the scope and excellence of THE WORLD OF LAW. One of America's most eminent constitutional lawyers, in recent years he has appeared in a succession of precedent-making cases, including the Dachau trial, the **Miracle** case, and the **Lady Chatterley's Lover** movie case.

What a wealth of entertainment and stimulation awaits the reader of these two superb volumes: Rabelais' rowdy legal humor . . . Robert Jackson's gripping summation, at Nuremberg, of humanity's case against the Nazis . . . the complete text of Terrence Rattigan's international hit play **The Winslow Boy** . . . actual transcripts from the trials of Oscar Wilde, Joan of Arc, and Emile Zola . . . great tales from Cervantes, Balzac, Chekhov, Dickens, and Faulkner . . . memorable opinions eloquently expressed by Brandeis, Learned Hand, Felix Frankfurter, William O. Douglas, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., and other titans of the law . . . Albert Camus' extensive and devastating indictment of capital punishment, **Reflections on the Guillotine.** Every mood and aspect of the law is represented in the two comprehensive volumes that comprise THE WORLD OF LAW.

Among Others Represented Clarence Darrow • W. H. Auden • Daniel Webster • Gandhi • Henry Miller • Francis Bacon • Herman Melville • Luigi Pirandello • Henry James • Mark Twain • Frank O'Connor • Agatha Christie • Sholom Aleichem • Damon Runyon • Sheridan Le Fanu • Robert Benchley • H. L. Mencken • Guy de Maupassant • Herman Wouk • Jonathan Swift • George Bernard Shaw • Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. • Lewis Carroll • O'Henry • Samuel Johnson • W. Somerset Maugham • Michel de Montaigne • *and many more*



2 VOLUMES IN AN ATTRACTIVE SLIPCASE
TYPOGRAPHICAL DESIGN BY MARSHALL LEE
1,472 PAGES • DIMENSIONS 10" x 6¾" x 4⅛"

RETAIL $17.50 **YOURS FOR**

$2.95

The World of Law and the outstanding books listed below are all recent selections of the Book Find Club. You will recognize them as works of current interest and lasting value—solid, readable books ranging from social science to the fine arts.

Membership in the Book Find Club makes it possible for you to shop for the books you want in the comfort of your own home—enabling you to build your library conveniently and inexpensively. As a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 40% on the books you choose. Furthermore, you need choose **only** those selections you want from the more than 100 books and records that will be made available to members in the coming year.

BONUS BOOKS. When your initial commitment has been fulfilled, you will be entitled to a free bonus book **of your own choosing** after every third selection that you take.

Why not take advantage of this extraordinary introductory offer? And receive **The World of Law** for only **$2.95.**

Recent Book Find Club Selections

The Politics of Upheaval, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95. Member's price $4.95.

The Crisis of the Old Order, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95. Member's price $4.50.

The Coming of the New Deal, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95. Member's price $4.75.

The Labyrinth, Saul Steinberg. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Fate of Man, edited by Crane Brinton. Including Plato, Sophocles, Aquinas, Spencer, Nietzsche, Engels, Freud, Toynbee, Kant, Whitehead, Kluckhohn, Shapley, Rosenberg, Huxley, and others. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, James Agee and Walker Evans. Retail $6.50. Member's price $4.95.

Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society. A massive compendium of studies by Margaret Mead, C. Wright Mills, Harold Rosenberg, I. A. Richards, Geoffrey Gorer, Irving Howe, Karl Jaspers, and many more. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.75.

The Joy of Music, Leonard Bernstein. Retail $5.95. Member's price $3.95.

The Affluent Society, John Kenneth Galbraith. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.50.

The Greek Myths, Robert Graves. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.75.

Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking, edited by C. Wright Mills. Penetrating studies of man by Lippmann, Marx, Engels, Veblen, Weber, Spencer, and many others. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Odyssey: A Modern Sequel, Nikos Kazantzakis. Retail $10.00. Member's Price $5.95.

America as a Civilization, Max Lerner. Retail $10.00. Member's price $4.95.

A History of Sexual Customs, Dr. Richard Lewinsohn. Retail $5.95. Member's price $4.50.

A History of Western Morals, Crane Brinton. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.50.

J. B., Archibald MacLeish *and* **Brave New World Revisited,** Aldous Huxley. *A dual selection. Retail $6.50. Member's price $4.50.*

THE BOOK FIND CLUB

215 Park Avenue South, New York 3, N. Y.

You may enroll me as a member and send me THE WORLD OF LAW for only $2.95 (plus a slight charge for postage and handling). I agree to buy at least five additional selections—or alternates—in the next twelve months. When my initial commitment has been fulfilled, I will be entitled to a free bonus book of my own choosing after every third selection that I take. I am to receive each month without charge the **Book Find News** containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of all other books available to me at special member's prices. This will enable me to make my own choice: if I do not want the selection announced I can return your form saying "send me nothing" or use it to order another book from the more than 100 current choice titles offered. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the five additional selections or alternates.

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss .....

Please print full name

Address .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

(Same offer and prices apply in Canada. Address: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ontario)

B61-57

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Down to Earth

"Boy, what a ride!" The first words spoken by Commander Shepard after his space capsule splashed into the South Atlantic out of the skies will undoubtedly be included in all future editions of Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*. But somehow our hearts were lifted up even more by words he is reputed to have addressed to the helicopter pilot who fished him out of the sea: "Take me to your leader," said the man from outer space. The old-fashioned American wisecrack has not been much in evidence recently, and it is good to know that not all of us on the New Frontier have lost that salutary ability to laugh in the presence of the unknown which demonstrated the deep and tough-minded seriousness of our ancestors on older frontiers. A sense of humor, after all, is a sense of perspective.

Commander Shepard *was* taken to our leader, and probably no one in the country felt more elation about the chance to pin a medal on a genuine hero than our worried President. Everything went well: the articulate astronaut was confident but modest; even the full glare of publicity in which the flight was shaped seems to have paid off for once; but most of all we applaud the decision to cut off the ticker-tape parades and get back to work.

Those who have read our April 27 issue, which came out just after Major Gagarin's flight, know that this magazine takes a somewhat dim view of the emphasis that has been put on rocketing men into space for propaganda purposes. Dr. Vannevar Bush once called the whole thing "a stunt," and we are impressed by his opinion that at this stage of the human race's exploration of the universe, a man in space "can do no more than an instrument; in fact he can do less." Proud as we are of Commander Shepard, we must not forget that it was instruments, not men, which confirmed the existence of the Van Allen radiation belts, which revealed that the earth is pear-shaped rather than round, and which are even now making important contributions in the development of new forms of communications, navigation aids, mapping, and weather forecasting. Furthermore, they were *American* instruments; so far as we know, the most important scientific contribution the Russians have produced is some rather murky pictures of the back side of the moon. In the *real* space race, the United States is ahead. And we would be foolish indeed if we gave up our lead by putting too much of our money and too much of our talent into a "stunt" contest with the Russians on their terms.

One of the wisest remarks we have heard about all this "man in space" excitement was made by a seven-year-old boy we know. "I don't understand," he said after one breathless news broadcast. "Aren't we *already* in space?" We are indeed, and have been for some time. And for quite a while to come the most important discoveries about the universe will probably be made by the scientists on the ground rather than by astronauts in space ships.

ILL WIND

"The President estimated that the crackdown on expense accounts will yield at least $250,000,000 in revenue."—New York Herald Tribune.

It's bad enough about Cuba,
And Laos hardly cheers,
But the chillest wind is the one
that blows
On expense-accountaneers.

For who will dig in his pocket
For a five-martini meal
And seats to a hit in the first
ten rows
With a cute deductible deal?

Ah, weep for the soon to suffer
The pangs of pay your way—
But raise a toast to the rest of us
Who may get to see a play!

—SEC

A Fable

Once upon a time there was a bright young member of Congress who worked hard to help another young man, who also served in Congress, get elected President. The first young man came from the West and knew about things like natural resources so he was appointed Secretary of the Interior. Everybody said it was a fine choice—or practically everybody. The young Secretary had been used to the life in Congress, where a man could say what he thought. But he found that being a Secretary was quite different. He was exposed to a harsher limelight.

It all began when the rumor spread that he had made a few phone calls to persuade members of Congress to vote the way the President wanted. Reporters asked him about it, and he said sure he had. The press and Republican politicians started calling the young Secretary the administration's hatchet man.

Not long afterward, he went on a TV program, and reporters asked him if the disaster in Cuba would divide the two parties. He said he didn't think so because the previous administration had planned to do the very same thing. At this, the Republicans got so mad that they wanted him to resign, as if he had been the one man responsible for the Cuban disaster.

But the worst blow came when a newspaper printed a copy of the letter written by an oil man to some other oil men asking them to buy tickets to the President's birthday dinner. The oil man claimed his friend, the Secretary, had asked him to sell some tickets. The Secretary

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

America is a young place that never had an adolescence. From the sunny, July morning in Philadelphia when those men from the 13 Colonies signed Mr. Jefferson's document, we have been a world power facing adult problems.

The world has grown smaller. The power greater. Scales have tipped. Now our smallest action stirs a schoolroom in the Himalayas, echoes down a rural road in Africa, rouses a political meeting in . . .

Wherever peace and freedom are an issue, we are too. But what do others think? Are we a tyranny or final hope? Friend or blundering giant? Thomas Jefferson's ideal or a materialistic dealer? What do they think?

The CBS Owned Radio Stations recently brought fresh air to this question in a series of four programs called "The Anatomy of Freedom." To see ourselves as the new generations in Asia, Europe and the rest of the world see us, WCAU–CBS Radio in Philadelphia – commissioned Dr. William W. Tomlinson, Vice President of Temple University, to circle the globe and seek out the views of men and women of stature both in the United States and abroad, who are aware of the danger to free men everywhere should America falter in its course under the soft oppression of indifference and neglect.

The manager of each of the seven CBS Owned Radio Stations across America personally introduced the first broadcast on his own station. CBS news analyst, Robert Trout, was narrator for the series. What we heard was not all pleasant:

"I must admit that America hasn't so much spiritual appeal–spiritual attraction–to the young people in general in Japan . . ."*

". . . I believe that I express the Asian point of view when I say, that to us–what is important is not so much which nation sends the first rocket to the moon . . . to us, what is important is, which nation organizes its house best . . . and shows respect for the fundamental human values more than any country. That to us is the nation that will lead, and should lead and must lead the world."**

These ideas were aired on "The Anatomy of Freedom" over the CBS Owned Radio Stations. Idea broadcasting that keeps the air fresh with adult, informative programming. Which is why people really listen to

THE CBS OWNED RADIO STATIONS: WCBS NEW YORK, WBBM CHICAGO, KNX LOS ANGELES, WCAU PHILADELPHIA, WEEI BOSTON, KCBS SAN FRANCISCO, KMOX ST. LOUIS

*DR. KAORO MATSUMOTO, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL HISTORY AT WASADA UNIVERSITY, ON "THE ANATOMY OF FREEDOM." **PHILIPPINE AMBASSADOR CARLOS P. ROMULO, ON "THE ANATOMY OF FREEDOM."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

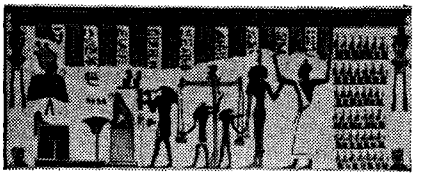
Marboro's greatest store clearance

SALE

5308. THE ROOSEVELT READER. Ed. & intro. by Basil Rauch. Selected speeches, messages, press conferences and letters of Franklin D. Roosevelt, from early childhood through Yalta, revealing his unique qualities of mind, character and personality that made him a leader. *Pub. at $3.50.* *Only* **1.49**

5139. STORIES FROM THE *SOUTHERN REVIEW.* Ed. by Cleanth Brooks & Robert Penn Warren. Magnificent regional writing from a distinguished literary journal; stories by Katherine Anne Porter, Kay Boyle, Mary McCarthy, Eudora Welty, Peter Taylor, Robert Penn Warren and others. *Pub. at $6.00.* *Only* **1.98**

6549. AN UNHURRIED VIEW OF EROTICA. By Ralph Ginzburg. Intro. by Theodor Reik; preface by George Jean Nathan. A forthright lucid discussion of the 2,000 classics of erotica in the rare book rooms and restricted shelves of the world's great libraries —synopses and extracts of famous works, descriptions of erotica collections, etc. Fine binding; boxed. *Pub. at $6.50.* *Only* **2.98**



P-803. THE WEIGHING OF SOULS.
A stunning silk screen reproduction of an Egyptian papyrus of the 6th century B.C., depicting the scene in the Hall of Double Justice, between the land of the living and the kingdom of the dead, where the souls of all deceased persons are judged before Osiris. A 16" x 40" picture on a sheer 17½" high x 44" wide. *Special* **2.98**

5319. Guide to the CARIBBEAN, BAHAMAS AND BERMUDA. Ed. by Eugene Fodor. A comprehensive handbook with 25 pages of maps, 12 city plans, 56 color and black-and-white photographs, large pull-out area map in full color. Complete data on transportation, sports, historical and scenic attractions, shopping restaurants, hotels, etc. 658 pp. 1960 edition. *Pub. at $5.95.* *Only* **2.98**

5157. MR. LINCOLN'S GENERAL, U.S. GRANT: An Illustrated Autobiography. Ed. & arranged by Roy Meredith. A stunning and original picture-and-text book; the text is taken from Grant's own Personal Memoirs, and is accompanied by over 300 superb illustrations — photos, including rare and unpublished Brady's, rare prints, paintings, sketches, drawings and maps, many never before published. 8½" x 11". *Pub. at $6.95.* *Only* **2.98**

5288. THE PSYCHOANALYST AND THE ARTIST. By Daniel E. Schneider, M.D. A brilliant analysis of the psychology of the creative artist; discusses the Oedipus plays, *Macbeth* and Arthur Miller, and Van Gogh, Picasso and Chagall, among others. Illus. *Pub. at $4.00.* *Only* **1.98**

4304. JAPANESE GARDENS. By Jiro Harada. A leading authority writes especially for western readers, explaining the 1300-year history of Japanese gardens and the significance of their beautiful landscaping. With drawings and 200 photos of 116 exquisitely beautiful gardens. *Pub. at $7.00.* *Only* **4.98**

5314. Sacheverell Sitwell: THE BRIDGE OF THE BROCADE SASH. Perceptive picture of Japan today in beautiful word portraits of the people and their occupations, tea houses, temples, and the fascinating cities of Tokyo and Kyoto. 55 color and black and white illustration. *Pub. at $8.50.* *Only* **2.98**

5309. THE GREATNESS OF WOODROW WILSON. A collective biography of the World War I President, ed. by Em Bowles Alsop; intro. by Dwight D. Eisenhower; essays by Walter Lippmann, Ralph McGill, Dag Hammarskjold, Claude G. Bowers, William Allen White, etc. *Pub. at $3.95.* *Only* **1.49**

5215. MELBOURNE. By Lord David Cecil. A colorful account of the tumultuous personal life and vigorous Parliamentary leadership of the Victorian Prime Minister. Illus. *Pub. at $3.00.* *Only* **1.00**

5252. THE SHORTER NOVELS OF STENDAHL. In the famous Scott-Moncrieff translation. *Armance, The Abbess of Castro, Vanina Vanini* and three other novels of adventure, intrigue and passion. Two vols. in one. *Pub. at $3.95.* *Only* **1.98**

4361. Albert Schweitzer: THE LIGHT WITHIN US. The most important statements of faith, selected from his seven major works, that amplify Dr. Schweitzer's cardinal principle of belief—Reverence for Life. *Pub. at $2.75.* *Only* **1.00**

5297. THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF HARRY STACK SULLIVAN. Ed. by Patrick Mullahy. A symposium of papers on interpersonal relations; Sullivan's Conceptions, by Mullahy and others; Sullivan as a Clinician, by Clara Thompson, et al; Sullivan and the Social Sciences, by Gardner Murphy, et al. Bibliography. *Pub. at $3.50.* *Only* **1.49**

P-801. KLEE: FISCHBILD.
The delightful fish are done in tones of pink and gray; the watery background fades from a rich ultramarine blue to textured tones of soft sea-green. Silk screen. 23" high x 35" wide. *Special* **2.98**

3254. Apicius: THE ROMAN COOKERY BOOK. Transl. by Barbara Flower. An exciting and definitely different book for all who would like to dine like a Roman patrician; a critical translation of the 2,000-year old cooking classic, for use in the kitchen as well as the library. With drawings, photos and a discussion of Roman kitchens and utensils. *Special* **1.98**

4262. KNOW YOUR HEIRLOOMS. By T. H. Armsbee. An impressive, beautiful and indispensable book for collectors who want to identify and evaluate furniture, china, glass, silver, pewter, brass, painting, prints, needlework, etc. 132 illus. *Pub. at $7.50.* *Only* **3.98**

5289. Theodor Reik: RITUAL—Psychoanalytic Studies. Preface by Sigmund Freud. A classic of psychoanalytic literature that Freud hailed as "magnificent," an analysis of representative instances of ritual, from savage puberty rites to modern Jewish religious customs. *Pub. at $5.00.* *Only* **2.98**

4010. Bertrand Russell: UNDERSTANDING HISTORY. A world-renowned iconoclastic philosopher contributes a biting analysis of current misconceptions of historical events. Hardbound. *Special* **1.00**

4868. The Indianapolis 500: THE RACE. Photos by Bob Verlin, text by Angelo Angelopolous. A deluxe picture book showing all the thrills, drivers and cars in the running of the famous 500-mile race at the Indianapolis Motor Speedway. *Pub. at $10.00.* *Only* **2.98**

3860. NEW YORK in Pictures. By Max Tak & Kees Scherer. From the subway to the skyline, from the Brooklyn Bridge and the lower East Side to Greenwich Village, Radio City and Central Park, here is fabulous New York in lively text and over 100 striking photos. Softbound. *Special* **1.00**

5115. WORKS OF RABELAIS. The famous Urquhart & Moteux translation of the greatest ribald classic of them all, chronicling the adventures of Gargantua and Pantagruel. Many illustrations by Frank C. Pape. Over 700 pp. *Special* **1.98**

4811. LOVE: THE SCIENCE OF SEX ATTRACTION. By B. S. Talmey, MD. Newly revised and enlarged, with 52 illustrations. Love and the sex life surveyed with authority and understanding by a great physician. *Pub. at $6.00.* *Only* **2.98**

4301. JESUS LIVED HERE: A Modern Pilgrimage Through the Holy Land. By Paul Bruin. Photos by Philipp Giegel. An extraordinarily beautiful book that tells the story of the Holy Land in vivid words and pictures. Profusely illustrated with striking photos and 8 full-page, full-color plates. 9" x 11¼". *Pub. at $10.00.* *Only* **2.98**

5203. CLASSICS OF PROTESTANTISM. Ed. by Vergilius Ferm. A large and meaty volume offering a virtual history of Protestant thought; 17 sizeable excerpts in nearly 600 pages, the influential writings of Luther, Calvin, Wesley, Kierkegaard and others. *Pub. at $10.00.* *Only* **1.98**

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY

marboro Dept. R-670, 131 Varick St., New York 13, N. Y.

Please send me postage prepaid, the bargains circled below.(Minimum purchase $3.00.)

☐ Enclosed find $_____

☐ Send C.O.D.*

☐ Charge my Diners' Club account #_____

☐ Charge my American Express account #_____

Limited to orders of $5.00 or more.

2896 3254 3708 3860 3868 4010 4110 4262 4301 4302 4304 4337 4361 4495

4558 4667 4760 4774 4811 4856 4857 4868 4987 5003 5030 5115 5139 5149

5157 5159 5203 5207 5215 5244 5252 5253 5257 5264 5265 5288 5289 5294

5295 5297 5302 5305 5308 5309 5314 5319 5320 5325 6277 6280 6293 6549

7334 P764 P792 P801 P803 P807 P808

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

☐ Check here if you receive our monthly bargain circular

New York City residents add 3% sales tax. *A few cents extra for C.O.D.
Add 25c per title for deliveries outside U.S.A. and possessions.
10-DAY SATISFACTION OR MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE.

WHEN IN NEW YORK CITY, VISIT A MARBORO BOOK SHOP
47 West 42nd Street • 8 East 59th Street • 144 West 57th Street
56 West 8th Street • 390 Fulton Street (Brooklyn)

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SAVE

up to 83% on fabulous books and prints. Act now!

5295. AMY LOWELL: Portrait of the Poet in Her Time. By Horace Gregory. A colorful biography of a highly colorful figure—wealthy, cultured Boston Brahmin, cigar-smoking legend in her lifetime, controversial poet and friend to dozens of literary greats. Illus. *Pub. at $5.00.* *Only* **1.49**

5030. HIGHBALL: A Pageant of Trains. By Lucius Beebe. A genuine collector's item, featuring more than 190 superb photographs in a magnificent volume of illustration and text about famous locomotives of yesterday and today. *Pub. at $6.00.* *Only* **2.98**

5159. PHOTOGRAPHY OF THE WORLD '60. A breathtaking assemblage of the best photos of the year, by top photographers of East and West, magnificently reproduced in gravure. Includes a portfolio of 100 years of great photos of nudes. 16 pages in striking full color. Printed in Japan. *Pub. at $10.00.* *Only* **3.98**

6293. Sartre: BEING AND NOTHINGNESS. Transl. & intro. by Hazel E. Barnes. Jean-Paul Sartre's major opus, a *sine qua non* for understanding Existentialism and its importance as one of the leading philosophical movements of our time. Over 700 pp. *Pub. at $10.00.* *Only* **2.98**

4857. OLD VIRGINIA HOUSES: Along the James. By Emmie Ferguson Farrar. Here are beautiful and historic houses, the histories and legends of the families who built them, authoritative information on architectural features, decor, interiors, and the priceless antiques with which they are furnished. 160 photos; 8½" x 11¼". *Pub. at $12.50.* *Only* **3.95**

5003. ASIAN WOMEN AND EROS. By Millicent Pommerenke. A detailed picture of today's child-bearing slaves of tradition, love and lust in the Far East, contrasting the gently passive India, where sex is a religion, and Japan, where Geisha Houses flourish. *Pub. at $3.95.* *Only* **1.49**

P-792. GAUGIN — ON CANVAS: SEATED GIRL. A pensive, nut-brown Tahitian maid dominates a scene delineated in sinuous lines and highly stylized shapes, done in black, red, dark brown and broad, bold areas of vivid yellow. Silk screened in rich, vibrant oil colors on a canvas roll 21" high x 31" wide. *Special* **7.95**

5244. Shane Leslie's GHOST BOOK. A discussion of ghosts and poltergeists and the Church's attitude toward them, and a collection of "Catholic ghost stories" ranging from the amusing to the terrifying. *Pub. at $3.00.* *Only* **1.49**

6280. Sartre: EXISTENTIALISM AND HUMAN EMOTIONS. Here's the heart of Sartre's philosophy —that man is personally responsible for what he does—that there are no values external to man—that man may therefore choose different values. *Pub. at $2.75.* *Only* **1.00**

4667. ROGET'S THESAURUS of Words and Phrases. Authorized revised edition of the indispensable book for everyone who wants to find the right word at the right time. 700-page hard-bound edition. *Special* **1.98**

4558. THE HOMOSEXUAL IN AMERICA: A Subjective Approach. By Donald Webster Cory. Intro. by Albert Ellis. Second Revised Edition with a new evaluation by the author. A frank, honest, keenly analytical account of homosexuality as seen, felt, experienced and told by a homosexual. *Pub. at $6.00.* *Only* **3.98**

4302. THE WHITE PAPER. An anonymous short novel that delineates in striking detail the strange passions of a young Frenchman whose love affairs went beyond normal bounds. Preface and illustrations by Jean Cocteau. *Pub. at $3.50.* *Only* **1.49**

5305. Simone de Beauvoir: THE LONG MARCH. This fascinating book combines the impressions of a civilized European seeing China today with a broad survey of China's present and future in the light of the past. Frank, personal, informed observations of a brilliant writer. 513 pp. *Pub. at $7.50.* *Only* **1.98**

P-764. MARINI MAN ON HORSEBACK. A magnificent silk-screen reproduction in red, gray, chartreuse and black of a man on a horse by the famous Italian modern; framed or unframed, an ideal conversation piece for home or office. 25" high x 20" wide. *Special* **2.98**

6277. WORD ORIGINS AND THEIR ROMANTIC STORIES. By Wilfred Funk. Reveals the fascinating derivations of more than 3,000 words in common use, with unusual stories you can use to spark any conversation. 432 pp. *Special* **1.98**

P-807. FRIEZE FROM A CHINESE TEMPLE. An exotic, unique silk-screen re-creation of a stone rubbing made more than 1800 years ago by an unknown artist of the Han Dynasty, depicting strange and fantastic beasts pursued by hunters; vermilion and gray on a stylish modern panel shape, 12½" high x 50" wide. *Special* **4.95**

5320. THE WILD FLOWER BOOK. By C. J. Hylander & E. F. Johnston. 232 beautiful, 8¼" x 10¼", color illustrations with the popular and scientific names, details on size, appearance, habitat and geographical location of over 500 species. *Pub. at $15.00.* *Only* **9.95**

5149. THE SEARCH FOR THE TASSILI FRESCOES: The Rock Paintings of the Sahara. By Henri Lhote. The whole story of the exciting expeditions into the Sahara to uncover the magnificent prehistoric rock frescoes of the Tassili-n-Ajjer. With superb gravure reproductions in color and black-and-white, including large fold-outs, maps and breathtaking scenic photos. *Pub. at $6.95.* *Only* **2.98**

4495. ART NEWS ANNUAL: Portfolio #2. The magnificent hardbound annual of literature, theater, music, science and the visual arts; an incredibly handsome 10" x 13" volume, featuring articles on Impressionism, El Greco, U.S. Painters Today, Crete and much more, with hundreds of illustrations, including many full-page, full-color plates. *Pub. at $5.00.* *Only* **1.98**

3708. Masterworks of TURGENEV. Two complete novels, *Fathers and Sons* and *Smoke,* and nine of the best short stories of this great writer. *Special* **1.00**

5264. CLASSICS OF THE SILENT SCREEN: A Pictorial Treasury. By Joe Franklin. A loving look backwards at 50 great films and 50 glittering stars of filmdom's silent era—over 400 photos; rare on-the-set shots, stills and publicity shots—synopses and analyses of the films and biographies of the personalities. 224 pp. 8½" x 11". *Pub. at $6.95.* *Only* **3.95**

5325. THE WORLD OF EVELYN WAUGH. Ed. by Charles Rolo. A rich harvest from the pen of an entertaining modern master—*The Loved One,* complete; two stories; exerpts from eight novels, including *Brideshead Revisited. Pub. at $6.00. Only* **1.00**

5265. THE TECHNIQUE OF THE NOVEL. By Thomas H. Uzzell. A book of basic principles for writers at all stages of development; with an analysis of 100 important novels. *Pub. at $4.00. Only* **1.98**

7334. CURIOUS CUSTOMS OF SEX AND MARRIAGE: An Inquiry Relating to All Races and Nations from Antiquity to the Present Day. By George Riley Scott, J. Ph.S. A factual resume of sex and marriage that is also an intimate history of people both strange and familiar. Here are facts obscured in antiquity or ignorance and equally fascinating ones in our present society. Illus. 312 pp. *Pub. at $7.50.* *Only* **2.98**

5207. BY COMMAND OF THE EMPEROR. By Major S. J. Watson. The fantastic life and career of Napoleon's Chief of Staff, Alex Berthier, who brilliantly led armies on three continents. Battle maps & portraits. *Pub. at $5.00.* *Only* **2.98**

5294. LETTERS OF STRINDBERG TO HARRIET BOSSE. Transl., ed. & intro. by Arvid Paulson. The love letters of a tormented genius, the great playwright, to a young girl, the actress who eventually became his third wife. Illus. *Pub. at $5.00. Only* **1.00**

4760. OROZCO: His Life And Art. By Alma Reed. An intimate portrait of the great Mexican painter, Jose Clemente Orozco, including his life in New York and friendships with Frank Lloyd Wright and Edward Weston, among others. 32 plates. *Pub. at $6.00.* *Only* **1.98**

3868. Baudelaire: FLOWERS OF EVIL. Generally considered to be the epitome of decadence, this fascinating classic plunges the reader into a world of bizarre surprises, astonishing beauty and mysterious terror. Transl. by C. Bower Alcock; spiced with startling drawings by Beresford Egan. *Special* **1.00**

5302. CHOPIN IN PICTURES: La Vie de Frederic Chopin par l'Image. By Robert Bory. Preface by Alfred Cortot. Here is one of the most romantic lives in the history of music, recounted fully in 175 extra-large pages of pictures—hundreds of photos, engravings and drawings providing a full and rounded picture of a musical genius. French text. 10" x 13¼". *Pub. at $12.50.* *Only* **4.95**

4110. U.S. CAMERA 1960: The Fifty Stars of the U.S.A. Ed. by Tom Maloney. Latest issue of the famous photography annual; over 300 pages, 20 in full color; features on Edward Steichen, a portfolio of the 50 states, the Art Director's Club, Margaret Bourke White, Lisa Larsen and other great camera artists, and the top pictures of the year. 8½" x 11". *Pub. at $8.95.* *Only* **2.98**

4337. THE SPLENDOR THAT WAS EGYPT. By Margaret A. Murray. A comprehensive, colorful survey of the culture and civilization of ancient Egypt, covering its history and prehistory, its social conditions, religion, arts, sciences, language and literature. Endpaper maps and more than 200 illustrations in line, halftone and color. *Pub. at $10.00.* *Only* **4.95**

4856. LOATHSOME WOMEN. By Leopold Stein, M.D. A book about modern witches; a fascinating psychological study of four seemingly ordinary civilized women who were found to possess the mysterious qualities and alarming power of witches. *Pub. at $4.00.* *Only* **1.98**

P-808. DEER BY RIVER. A glittering silk screen reproduction of a 19th-century Japanese golden screen paintings of the Toca School, soft browns and white against a gleaming background of metallic gold. 20" high x 35" wide. *Special* **4.95**

4987. GASTRONOMIC TOUR DE FRANCE. By Jean Conil. A famous chef and restaurateur presents a tour of all France, with the culinary specialties, wines and cheeses of each region, hotels and restaurants, and recipes of all the best and most representative dishes. An ideal guidebook for travelers and cooks. Illus. *Pub. at $7.95.* *Only* **2.98**

4774. GREECE. 80 photos, eight in full color, by Jan Lukas. This intriguing blend of the old and new brilliantly captures the splendors of Delphi and the Acropolis, the natural beauties of the land, its tough, proud people and its everyday sights and sounds. Introduction in English, German and French. 9½" x 10¾", imported. *Special* **3.98**

2896. CEZANNE. By Basil Taylor. 48 magnificent color plates highlight this beautiful book, which also includes a long introduction, an outline biography, important quotes by the artist, comments on him by contemporaries and later critics, and full notes on the color plates. *Special* **1.98**

5257. PARAPSYCHOLOGY. By Rene Sudre. A scientific interpretation of the human phenomenon known as the "supernatural." Discusses all types of phenomena from water divining to hypnotism, from telepathy to psycho-kinesis, placing them within the framework of a unified theory. *Pub. at $6.00.* *Only* **2.98**

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

promptly called in the reporters. He told them he had not asked his friend to solicit all the other oil men. He had been embarrassed when he learned about the letters and had told his friend to call them all back. His friend hadn't sold any tickets.

But it was too late. The editorial writers decided that the young Secretary had become a controversial figure. They hinted he might not be around Washington too much longer.

Then one Sunday the sad young Secretary took a hike with some of his friends down the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal towpath. It was raining, and the hikers stopped at Old Angler's Inn to eat their lunch. Everyone was cold and wet. But the wife of the proprietor of the inn felt no compassion. "You look like a bum. Get out!" she said to the young Secretary. At first, according to those who were watching, he thought it was all a joke. Then he went outside and ate his sandwich in the rain.

Tweedledum & Tweedledee

By all accounts, the May 27 election in Texas of a Senate successor to Lyndon Johnson will be close. William Blakley, who now occupies the seat by appointment, is basing his campaign largely on the argument that he already has a certain amount of seniority. This is a slender reed, but Blakley and his Republican opponent, John Tower, are so alike that any small advantage seems worth claiming.

The nominal difference between the two candidates, that Blakley is a Democrat and Tower a Republican, has little importance, since both men have freely repudiated their parties' national leadership. The issue seems to be who is the more genuine conservative. Tower, a former college professor, had a bit of trouble with a whispering campaign that he was once a student at the "socialist" London School of Economics. He answered it by saying, "One of the reasons I attended was that I wanted to learn how those Socialists thought," and the whispering stopped. In a state where college students have been known to take tape recorders to class to catch their teachers being soft on Communism, it was an acceptable excuse for going to school.

THE INDISPENSABLE MAN

EDMOND TAYLOR

PARIS

General de Gaulle's recent and still somewhat precarious victory over the colonialist demagogues in Algeria clearly has not made him more receptive to the clichés of anti-colonialist demagoguery anywhere. His two public addresses since the collapse of the military putsch reflect on the contrary a renewed confidence in France's North African presence which is highly significant both for the negotiations with the F.L.N. leadership at Evian-les-Bains and for his talks with President Kennedy here.

In his otherwise rather unremarkable TV report to the nation on May 8, the general warned the Algerian "rebels"—a term he has not employed much recently—that while he had no intention of backing down on his pledge to give Algeria independence, neither would he waive the penalties he had previously stipulated if in choosing independence Algeria rejected any association with France: withdrawal of all economic aid and partition of the territory. De Gaulle further warned that failure to reach agreement at Evian, either on the long-range association between France and Algeria or upon the methods of self-determination, would lead to the establishment of a rival Algerian executive with which France would proceed to negotiate.

Since the Moslem demonstrations of last December, this threat had come to appear pretty empty, but de Gaulle's ruthless crackdown on European extremists in Algeria since the putsch has caused his prestige to soar higher than ever before among the Moslem masses. The "third force" formula as de Gaulle envisaged it last year seems more unrealistic than ever, but apparently the body of Moslem opinion attached to the dream of independence based upon reconciliation between France and the F.L.N. is now so strong that for the moment neither side can safely disregard it. De Gaulle has no desire to do so—it is his ace in the hole for the Evian poker game, which seems certain to be a long and tough one.

By an interesting coincidence, the communiqué announcing the agreement with the F.L.N. for opening formal negotiations in Evian on May 20 appeared at almost the same moment that de Gaulle was speaking during the memorial ceremony for Marshal Lyautey, the pacifier of Morocco. De Gaulle's address, which he delivered standing bareheaded in uniform in the courtyard of the Invalides, the shrine of French military glory, was as impressive for the text as for the context. Lyautey's ashes, apparently considered by Moroccan nationalist opinion as a shameful relic of colonialism, had been transferred from his tomb in Rabat at the respectful but firm request of the Moroccan government; in laying them at rest at last under the huge gilded dome that houses those of Napoleon and in utilizing the solemn armory of military pageantry to underscore the event, de Gaulle symbolized his determination to transform withdrawal into reaffirmation.

In his eulogy of the legendary proconsul, de Gaulle reinterpreted the past—as he often does to the distress of pedantic historians—in order to help transcend the problems of today and thus to prepare the solutions of tomorrow. Under the magic brush strokes of his style Lyautey emerged not merely as the most enlightened colonialist of his day but as the precursor of the postcolonial philosophy of partnership with undeveloped peoples that de Gaulle has made his own. By thus boldly identifying his contemporary liberalism with the noblest symbol of France's imperial tradition, de Gaulle simultaneously preached a lesson and offered a reassurance to the badly shaken officer corps of the French Army in Algeria.

"He was realistic as well as generous," General de Gaulle declared, referring to Lyautey's policy in Morocco more than half a century ago. "And he did not confuse the respect we should have for others with demogogy."

That is the core of de Gaulle's own policy, not only toward Algeria but toward the undeveloped countries generally. De Gaulle meant to make clear that he believes France still has a civilizing mission in Africa if it is properly conceived in the light of contemporary political realities and that he does not mean to abandon it. This is an almost metaphysical concept of France's role in North Africa, but for that very reason it has the practical merit of offering a possible basis for reconciling logically irreconcilable requirements. In any case, de Gaulle is clearly determined to put it to the test.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Noble music at low cost" — Herbert Kupferberg, N. Y. Herald Tribune

RICHMOND and TELEFUNKEN LP's

products of LONDON RECORDS

$1.98 per Mono LP — ORDER BY MAIL* — $2.98 per Stereo LP

ORCHESTRAL

THE WALTZES OF JOHANN STRAUSS —Artist's Life; The Blue Danube; Emperor Waltz; Wine, Women and Song. The Bamberg Symphony Orchestra — Joseph Keilberth
(1)Mono: TC8018 (1S)Stereo: TCS18018

GERMAN OVERTURES—Gluck IPHIGENIE EN AULIDE. Weber: OBERON. Nicolai: THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR. Humperdinck: HANSEL AND GRETEL. Orch. of The Berlin Municipal Opera—Artur Rother
(2)Mono: TC8020 (2S)Stereo: TCS18020

GALLOP IN STEREO—Overtures. Suppe: LIGHT CAVALRY; POET AND PEASANT; THE BEAUTIFUL GALATEA. Offenbach: ORPHEUS IN THE UNDERWORLD. Symphony Orchestra of The Belgian National Radio—Franz Andre
(3S)Stereo: TCS18035

Grieg: PEER GYNT—Suites 1 and 2. London Philharmonic Orchestra — Basil Cameron
(4)Mono: B19019

Brahms: HUNGARIAN DANCES, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10. Dvorak: SLAVONIC DANCES, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 16. Hamburg Radio Orch.—Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt
(5)Mono: B19038

Prokofiev: PETER AND THE WOLF. Frank Phillips, Narrator—London Phil. Orch. — Nicolai Malko. Britten: THE YOUNG PERSON'S GUIDE TO THE ORCHESTRA. Concertgebouw Orch. of Amsterdam—Eduard van Beinum
(6)Mono: B19040

Wagner: TRISTAN UND ISOLDE — Prelude and Liebestod; PARSIFAL — Good Friday Music. London Philharmonic Orchestra—Clemens Krauss
(7)Mono: B19042

Suppé: POET AND PEASANT — Overture; PIQUE DAME—Overture; MORNING NOON AND NIGHT IN VIENNA: LIGHT CAVALRY OVERTURE. London Philharmonic Orchestra—Georg Solti
(8)Mono: B19064

BEETHOVEN OVERTURES—LEONORA No. 3; THE CONSECRATION OF THE HOUSE; *EGMONT; FIDELIO;* CORIOLAN. The London Philharmonic Orch. —Eduard van Beinum
(9)Mono: B19026

Borodin: POLOVTSIAN DANCES. London Philharmonic Orch: & Choir—Eduard van Beinum. Falla: EL AMOR BRUJO. London Philharmonic Orchestra—Anthony Collins
(10)Mono: B19032

Tchaikovsky: 1812 OVERTURE; HAMLET —FANTASY OVERTURE. London Philharmonic Orchestra—Sir Adrian Boult
(11)Mono: B19014

Debussy: NOCTURNES. Ravel: BAPSODIE ESPAGNOLE. Orchestre de la Suisse Romande—Ernest Ansermet
(12)Mono: B19044

Mendelssohn: A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM—INCIDENTAL MUSIC. Schubert: ROSAMUNDE — INCIDENTAL MUSIC. Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam—Eduard van Beinum
(13)Mono: B19035

ORCHESTRAL

VIENNA PHILHARMONIC NEW YEAR CONCERT. Vienna Philharmonic Orch. —Clemens Krauss
(14)Mono: B19066

Sibelius: SYMPHONY No. 1. London Symphony Orchestra—Anthony Collins
(15)Mono: B19069

Moussorgsky-Ravel: PICTURES AT AN EXHIBITION. L'Orchestre de la Suisse Romande—Ernest Ansermet. Ravel: LA VALSE (Poeme Choregraphique). Paris Conservatory Orchestra—Ernest Ansermet
(16)Mono: B19073

Rachmaninoff: RHAPSODY ON A THEME OF PAGANINI. Dohnanyi: VARIATIONS ON A NURSERY TUNE. Julius Katchen, Piano—London Philharmonic Orchestra—Sir Adrian Boult
(17)Mono: B19076

Schubert: SYMPHONY No. 9 IN C MAJOR "Great." North German Radio Symphony Orch.—Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt
(18)Mo.: TC8041 (18S)St.: TCS18041

Rimsky-Korsakov: SCHEHERAZADE. North German Radio Symphony Orchestra Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt
(19)Mo.: TC8042 (19S)St.: TCS18042

SYMPHONIC MARCHES. Elgar: POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE MARCHES Nos. 1-4. *London Symphony Orch. — Warwick* Braithwaite; POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE MARCH No. 5. National Symphony Orchestra—Sir Malcolm Sargent; IMPERIAL MARCH. Meyerbeer: CORONATION MARCH. Saint-Saëns: MARCHE MILITAIRE FRANCAISE. Halvorsen: ENTRY OF *THE BOYARDS. London* Philharmonic Orchestra—Julius Harrison
(20)Mono: B19029

OPERETTA HIGHLIGHTS

Offenbach: THE TALES OF HOFFMANN — Highlights. Humperdinck: HANSEL AND GRETEL — Highlights. Soloists, Chorus and Orchestra of The Berlin Municipal Opera—Martin
(21)Mono: TC8028

Lehar: THE LAND OF SMILES —Highlights. Anneliese Rothenberger: Heinz Hoppe. NDR Symphony Orch. of Hamburg — Muller-Lampertz. Lehar: DER ZAREWITSCH (The Crown Prince) — Highlights. Sonja Schoner; Heinz Hoppe; The Gunther Arndt-Choir. Orchestra of Berlin Municipal Opera—Hansgeorg Otto. Strauss: THE GYPSY BARON — Highlights. Melitta Muszely; Heinz Hoppe; Heinrich Pflanzl; The Gunther Arndt-Choir. Orchestra of Berlin Municipal Opera — Muller-Lampertz. Strauss: A NIGHT IN VENICE—Highlights. Sonja Schoner; Heinz Hoppe; The Gunther Arndt-Choir. The FFB Orchestra — Muller-Lampertz
(22)Mo.: TC8030 (22S)St.: TCS18030

Lehar: THE MERRY WIDOW — Highlights. Soloists, Chorus and Grand Operetta Orchestra—Wilhelm Stephan. Benatzky: THE WHITE HORSE INN — Highlights. Soloists, Chorus and Grand Operetta Orchestra—Willy Mattes. Zeller: DER VOGELHANDLER (The Bird Seller) — Highlights. Soloists, Chorus and Orchestra of The Bavarian Broadcasting Company of Munich—Willy Mattes
(23)Mono: TC8029

CONCERTI

Dvorak: 'CELLO CONCERTO IN B MINOR. Ludwig Hoelscher, 'Cello. Hamburg State Philharmonic Orch.—Joseph Keilberth (24S)Stereo: TCS18022

Beethoven: VIOLIN CONCERTO. Ruggiero Ricci—London Phil. O. Sir Adrian Boult
(25)Mono: B19034

Tchaikovsky: PIANO CONCERTO No. 1. Peter Katin—New Sym. Orch. of London —Edric Cundell
(26)Mo.: B19060 (26S)St.: S29060

Beethoven: PIANO CONCERTO No. 5 —"Emperor." Wilhelm Backhaus—V.P.O. —Clemens Krauss
(27)Mono: B19072

Rachmaninoff: PIANO CONCERTO No. 2. Peter Katin—New Symphony Orchestra of London—Colin Davis
(28)Mo.: B19059 (28S)St.: S29059

Liszt: PIANO CONCERTO Nos. 1 and 2. Wilhelm Kempff—London Symphony Orch. —Anatole Fistoulari
(29)Mono: B19023

Beethoven: PIANO CONCERTO No. 3. Wilhelm Backhaus—Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra—Karl Böhm
(30)Mono: B19063

SYMPHONIC

Berlioz: SYMPHONIE FANTASTIQUE. Concertgebouw Orch. of Amsterdam — Eduard van Beinum
(31)Mono: B19010

Beethoven: SYMPHONY No. 6. London Philharmonic Orch.—Erich Kleiber
(32)Mono: B19037

Beethoven: SYMPHONY No. 3—"Eroica." Vienna Phil. Orch.—Kleiber
(33)Mono: B19051

Beethoven: SYMPHONY No. 7. Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam — Erich Kleiber
(34)Mono: B19054

Sibelius: SYMPHONY No. 5; KARELIA SUITE. Danish Radio Symphony Orch.— Erik Tuxen; Thomas Jensen
(35)Mono: B19036

Brahms: SYMPHONY No. 3. Concertgebouw Orch. of Amsterdam—George Szell
(36)Mono: B19050

VOCAL

ERNA SACK RECITAL — Auf der Kirmes; Ouvre Ton Coeur; You Will Return To Vienna; Estrellita; Serenata; Throw Open Wide Your Window; Berceuse de Jocelyn; Coppelia Waltz; The Last Rose of Summer; Il Bacio. With New Promenade Orchestra—Hans May
(37)Mono: B19049

CHAMBER

Vivaldi: THE FOUR SEASONS. Stuttgart Chamber Orch.— Karl Munchinger
(38)Mono: B19056

Bach: BRANDENBURG CONCERTOS— Complete. Stuttgart Chamber Orch. Karl Munchinger
(39)Mono: BA42002 (2 record set)

Schubert: THE TROUT QUINTET. Helmut Roloff, Piano, with Members of The Bayreuth Festival String Ensemble
(40S)Stereo: TCS18023

Beethoven: STRING QUARTET No. 10, Op. 74 (Harp). Tátrai Quartet, Budapest
(41S)Stereo: TCS18025

BALLET

Tchaikovsky: NUTCRACKER SUITE No. I and II. The Paris Conservatory Orch. —Anatole Fistoulari
(42)Mono: B19065

Tchaikovsky: THE SLEEPING BEAUTY — Complete. The Paris Cons. Orch. — Anatole Fistoulari
(43)Mono: BA42001 (2 record set)

Tchaikovsky: THE SWAN LAKE—Complete. London Symphony Orch.—Anatole Fistoulari
(44)Mono: BA42003 (2 record set)

MASS

Mozart: REQUIEM IN D MINOR, K. 626—Joseph Krips conducting The Vienna Hofmusikkapelle. Soloists: Master Werner Pech (soprano); Master Hans Breitschopf (alto); Walther Ludwig (tenor); Harald Proglhof (bass)
(45)Mono: B19077

ORATORIO

Bach: ST. MATTHEW PASSION — Complete. Kathleen Ferrier (contralto); Elsie Suddaby (soprano); Eric Greene (tenor); Henry Cummings (bass); Gordon Clinton (bass); William Parsons bass); Bruce Boyce (bass); Bach Choir. The Jacques Orchestra with Dr. Osborne Peasgood, organ and Dr. Thornton Lofthouse, continuo, conducted by Dr. Reginald Jacques
(46)Mono: BA43001 (3 record set)

MARCHES

MARCH TIME IN GERMANY—Band of the Berlin Guard. Alte Kameraden (Old Comrades); Preussens Gloria (Glory of *Prussia); Radetzkymarsch; Deutschmeister*-Regiments Marsch (Regimental March); Hoch-und Deutschmeister; others
(47)Mono: TP2508

BRASS BAND ON PARADE—Band of H. M. Irish Guards. Entry Of The Gladiators; *Col. Bogey; Liberty Bell;* others
(48)Mono: B20007

MARCHES OF THE WORLD — Robert Stolz — Vienna Sym. Orch. Stars And Stripes; Madelon; Rakoczy March; March Of The Cavalry; others
(49)*Mono:* B20017

MARCH TIME IN VIENNA — Vienna Police Band. Schonfeld Marsch; Kaiserjager-Marsch; Mit Klingendem Spiel; Egerlander (73er) Marsch; others
(50)Mono: B20035

FROM GERMANY

POLKA AND WALTZ TIME IN BOHEMIA—Ernst Mosch and his Bohemian Band. Nur ein halbes Stundchen; Hartenberger Polka; Das geht ins Gemut; Heimatgrusse; Dorfschmied; others
(51)Mono: TP2511

THE VILLAGE BAND—Band of Radio Vorarlberg. Auf geht's; Heimkehrer — Ballklange — Sorgenlos — Flugpost — In guter Laune—others
(52)Mono: B20041

POLKA HITS — Will Glahe and His Orchestra. Tanzende Finger; Anhalter-Liesel; Sprungfedern; Feierabend; Bar Room Polka; others
(53)Mono: B20016

*If not available at your record store.

RICHMOND-TELEFUNKEN RECORDS Division of London Records, Inc. **140 West 22nd St. New York, N. Y.**

Please send me, postpaid, the LP's I have circled. I understand the minimum order is $9.96

Mono:	1	2	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	25	26	27	28
	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	42	43
	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53			
Stereo:	1S	2S	3S	18S	19S	22S	24S	26S	28S	40S	41S		

Enclosed is my check or money order in the amount of _____ to cover _____ mono LP's and _____ stereo LP's.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MAX ASCOLI

Foreign Policy After Cuba

CUBA AND LAOS have done it: a debate on the ends and means of our foreign policy has started; the strategy and the diplomacy of the nation are being publicly re-examined with feverish thoroughness. Commentators and members of Congress whose opinions have long been characterized by thoughtful and ponderous restraint do not hesitate to advocate programs of a most radical nature, like thorough disengagement from a number of trouble spots that are described by the term "peripheral." In the inner circles of the administration, the same search for what is right and for what went wrong goes on with a vigor that would be commendable were a few of the President's advisers a bit more discreet in their private denunciations, at home and abroad, of what some other adviser has said and done.

All this soul-searching and goal-searching can turn out to be a healthy thing, provided that at a certain moment—the sooner the better—the President draws his conclusion, and shows his capacity to think and act forcibly. Perhaps it was inevitable that a young President had to undergo his education in public, and prove his fitness to outgrow the blunders of inexperience. The worst that could possibly happen to him occurred just at the beginning of his administration. A great power enjoys a considerably broad margin for error. After Cuba, we have no margin left. This the President knows better than anybody.

A CURIOUS THEME has been running through the post-Cuba debate on our foreign policy. It has been said over and over again by men universally respected for their wisdom that our diplomacy has to be readjusted to the balance of terror. James Reston, for instance, echoing the opinion of Walter Lippmann, has written: "Immediately after the war, when the United States had an atomic monopoly, it was in a position to enforce its will in areas close to the Communist borders. It was then that the Government decided on a policy of halting expansion of Communism everywhere, but meanwhile the atomic monopoly has been broken, the balance of power has shifted, but the balance of policy has not shifted with it."

Mr. Reston and Mr. Lippmann certainly must admit that even when we had the atomic monopoly, the Communists did rather well for themselves. During that whole period, their International was the counterpart of our bomb. Later, they had the International *and* the bomb. Moreover, while our bombs could only be stockpiled but not used, no matter how outrageous the Communist provocation, their International has been at work year in and year out, twenty-four hours a day, in every corner of the earth where it has a chance to do us harm. Ever since the Russians' power for total destruction became equal to ours they have claimed credit for the avoidance of the wars that were not fought. Is this the new balance of power to which our new balance of policy is to be readjusted?

The readjusters have their answer. Mr. Lippmann put it quite clearly: we should "scrap the policy of American satellite states and promote instead a policy of neutralism for the weak and vulnerable peripheral states. That is the best, indeed that is the only, hope of their not being engulfed by Communism." It is somewhat discouraging to have to discuss this most confusing of all isms, neutralism. But even the desire to redeem it from the fulminations of John Foster Dulles, who called it immoral, cannot make this ism worth much discussion. For there are about as many varieties of neutralism as there are nations that call themselves neutrals. There is the Swedish variety, and the Austrian, and that which is at present being bargained for in Laos by a number of variously concerned powers. At the two extremes, there is the neutralism of self-supporting, self-defending nations; and there is the one that meekly registers opposite pressures from antagonistic great powers.

It is with the latter that we should be particularly

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

concerned now. It is this neutrality that is being negotiated for Laos and may be tested there. From there it may be exported to a number of neighboring countries. "A genuinely independent and neutral Laos," it is said, is to be ruled by a coalition government that will embrace all the various factions from the Communist Left to the Royal Right. Could any solution be tidier? Once the interested outside powers agree to wave in unison the neutralist wand, there is no more civil war in the wretched country, the balance or imbalance of the opposing armed forces is reflected in the distribution of cabinet jobs, and the king sits on his throne.

Presumably, once a country has adopted a policy of neutrality toward the outside, guaranteed by a Left-to-Right coalition on the inside, then the only thing for our nation to do is to pull out. We have got rid of a "satellite" and thus saved dollars, military hardware, and prestige. The only trouble is that when we rely on this kind of neutrality, we end it. The more formal the decision on our part and the more serious our disengagement, the more quickly and thoroughly the coalition-ruled country will turn into a People's Democracy. Then we have not neutralized a country; we have neutralized ourselves in that country. If we do not accept this, we must redouble our concern with the affairs of a nation whose neutrality can be meaningful only if our vigilance equals that of the Communist bloc. In the countries of Southeast Asia, the main evidence of our concern is the presence of the Seventh Fleet and our readiness to use it.

BUT, it is said, we must cut our losses. There is no better principle of sound business. If we apply it in Laos, then Thailand is further encouraged in its tendency toward neutrality, and then we have a neutral Vietnam, North and South, finally united under a coalition government . . . Then we will follow the sound business principle of cutting our losses to the point of getting out of the Asian business. And why should we stop at Asia? Or at Africa? Or even at Europe? Aren't there peoples to be found on every continent who would love nothing better than to include themselves out of the great-power conflict? Latin America certainly belongs to this category, and the logic that makes us reluctant to take a stand in Asia should not allow us to incur further losses south of the Rio Grande.

Some of the countries that we have tried so far to protect from Communism have, admittedly, governments of a less than exemplary nature. Our interest in these countries has been justified by reasons that have lost none of their validity as a result of what is called the changed balance of power. There is nothing particularly admirable, for instance, in the government of Chiang Kai-shek, but it is unthinkable to let the Formosans fall under Mao's domination. We have not yet acquired the knack of changing the governments of client or enemy countries, as we have found out rather recently, ninety miles off Miami. Yet by now we should know that once a nation has fallen under Communist control, the discipline that is imposed on it is so merciless that no matter how hard its people try there is no room for change. The Hungarians have tried with all they had.

Obviously, our concern with faraway, peripheral countries is caused by negative reasons. But are we to conform so diligently with Dr. Peale's teaching as to be ashamed of this reasoning? Most of our life is ruled by negative considerations. We have had to defend the government of Syngman Rhee until, probably with the assistance of our Central Intelligence Agency, the Korean people got rid of him. We are constantly exposed to situations just as unpleasant as the support of a mean, incompetent government. For instance, we cannot possibly cut ourselves off from Asia, for then India would be sealed off. We cannot do it, even if the Indians leave their defense to us while never forgiving us for defending them.

Indeed, that big, if not great, country, ruled by a one-party system rife with nepotism, is the best, though the least mentioned, evidence of how we are stuck with assistance to countries that frequently demand from us an immoderate amount of patience. But not even Krishna Menon, with all his waspish antics, can induce us to abandon our concern for the people of India. India also offers compelling evidence of a principle that our government should observe in every country it assists: to support a non-Communist régime does not mean falling in love with it. We can well afford to cut the losses of sentimental involvement, learn how to be detached in assisting a government that needs us, be both tough and kind as occasion demands. Our too many representatives in foreign countries, from the ambassador down to the last Peace Corpsman, should avoid acting either like arrogant gift-givers or like imitation natives.

THE GREAT post-Cuba debate will go on for a long time, and any number of Clausewitzes are likely to suggest changes in our diplomacy as a result of what they consider our new strategic position. As far as we are concerned, to the now fashionable question of which country should we disengage ourselves from, our answer is: from none. And if it is asked which country we would like to have neutralized by a coalition government with Communist participation, our answer is again: none.

Dean Rusk, a good and wise man, who can prove his worth when the President gives him the power that the office of Secretary of State demands, has had, in our opinion, the final answer to this overblown question of what is peripheral and what is central in the defense of the national interest. "If you don't pay attention to the periphery," he said a few weeks ago, "the periphery changes. And the first thing you know the periphery is the center."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Second Thoughts
On the 'Alliance for Progress'

ALBERT O. HIRSCHMAN

When President Kennedy proposed his *alianza para progreso* to the assembled Latin-American ambassadors on March 13, he was making a new bid for co-operation in economic and social development. The Cuban debacle has made it harder for this program to succeed. But it may well run into some difficulties of its own. For it is just possible that the failure of the CIA to gauge correctly the Cuban situation is only one manifestation of a more general misreading of the mood of Latin America and of the realities of inter-American relations.

The new program, however, represents significant progress. It promises to be a vast improvement over past doctrines which held that Latin America's economic development could safely be left to private capital, occasionally supported by credits from the International and Export-Import Banks. True, in the last two years or so of the Eisenhower administration, this policy underwent considerable modification under the impact first of the Nixon trip and then of the Cuban revolution. Now it has been repudiated: Latin America is to receive a fair and perhaps a preferential share of U.S. foreign aid.

Further, certain traditional negative or hostile attitudes are being revised. The United States is "ready to co-operate in serious, case-by-case examinations of commodity market problems." The Export-Import Bank has announced that it will grant credits for the export of equipment and machinery even to government-controlled enterprises, thereby ending its doctrinaire and ineffectual but still highly irritating refusal to co-operate with petroleum monopolies such as Mexico's Pemex and Brazil's Petrobras. Finally, the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, long abhorred in Washington for its "wild" theories but highly influential in many Latin-American finance ministries and planning boards, is to be given an important place in the effort to accelerate Latin America's economic growth.

The principal new feature in the Kennedy administration's program is the emphasis on social change and reform. The ten-year plans that the Latin-American nations are invited to formulate as a basis for our aid are not only to "establish targets and priorities" or to "insure monetary stability," along lines familiar from past foreign aid; they are also to "establish the machinery for vital social change." Congress was immediately requested to appropriate $500 million for "social development" projects in the fields of land use, housing, water supply, health, and education. Here again, allocation and disbursement of the funds are to be conditioned on "the willingness of each recipient nation to improve its own institutions, make necessary modifications in its social patterns, and mobilize its own domestic resources in a program of development."

Thus both the immediate and the longer-term programs are built on a new criterion for foreign aid: the willingness on the part of the recipient nations to undertake fundamental reforms of social structure.

It is gratifying to see the policy of our government array itself frankly and openly alongside the forces making for social progress in Latin America. But if we care for the attainment of what we are after, we ought to recognize that with this new policy we are entering uncharted territory. Unlike the Russians, we do not have much experience in promoting social change abroad.

A New Basis for Aid?

Long before foreign aid became a matter for governments to handle, private capitalists sought assurances that their funds would not be wasted. One approach, which held sway for many decades and even centuries, was to scrutinize the direct uses to which the money was put, to evaluate whether the proposed project was

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sound in itself, i.e., promised to be profitable or useful. It does not require a high degree of sophistication, however, to realize that even the soundest project can go wrong if the borrower's own resources are poorly used. As a result, the demand has long been made that the borrower should have not only sound projects but also a general economic policy favorable to development.

This demand has shown itself in several ways. The one currently most popular is to request that the borrower formulate a "consistent, integrated" program for development, and to grant aid on the basis of such programs. The Eisenhower administration followed a less demanding line: everything would work out well—at least in Latin America—provided only that a country achieved monetary stability and established a "favorable investment climate." The frequent admonition to "put your house in order" had this meaning: stop inflation and welcome foreign capital.

In Latin America these requirements are frequently alleged to have included not only the nondiscriminatory treatment of foreign capital and a minimum of stability in the relevant legislation, but also the readmission of private capital, domestic and foreign, to areas of economic activity, such as the production of petroleum, that had been taken over by the state. Whether or not official pressures in this direction were exerted in such countries as Argentina (successfully) or Brazil (unsuccessfully) will have to be investigated by some future historian.

CASTRO'S rise to power made the United States favor a more intensive use of public funds as a principal instrument of foreign policy. At the same time, it compelled a re-examination of what we wanted to achieve through an increase in U.S. aid. The Cuban revolution could not have occurred had there not been basic faults in the organization of Cuban society and legitimate, highly exploitable popular grievances. Thus, it was argued, if a new Cuba was to be prevented in Latin America, every effort should be made to correct similar faults and prevent similar grievances. "Put your house in order" suddenly acquired a different content. Even in the last months of the Eisenhower administration, it came more and more to mean, "Improve your land-tenure system, distribute your tax burden more equitably, erase slums and illiteracy." This emphasis on social reform has now been vigorously affirmed by the new administration.

Financing Social Justice

The new formula will inevitably present problems of great difficulty. How shall we judge whether a country is taking sufficiently bold steps in the direction of social justice to be entitled to aid? How are we to gauge whether a given program is likely to achieve adequate progress in eliminating ingrained patterns of exploitation? Progressive legislation has frequently been meaningless or blissfully unenforced in Latin America. Moreover, certain types of social justice may have been overdone. There is much evidence, for example, that Cuba's very ambitious social-security legislation of the pre-Castro era had created rigidities that seriously retarded the industrial development of that island.

A given set of measures may be considered likely to result in a more equitable distribution of income, but the decisive question, however elusive may be the answer, remains: will these measures be adequate to lessen the feeling of social injustice?

Obviously we have neither the intellectual tools nor the time to make such evaluations; we will have to be content with the more modest goal of enhancing the attention that the governments of Latin America are giving to the main social causes of discontent in their countries. Perhaps the knowledge that financing is to be available for projects in the "social" areas will indeed stimulate their interest. But here the utmost alertness will be required, since a government that does not of itself have the impulse to undertake real reforms will find it only too easy to invent a variety of projects (e.g., ambitious colonization schemes in faraway jungle lands) that lend themselves to the massive expenditure of aid but are designed to evade rather than to attack the country's real social evils.

Thus we may be in a dilemma: if a country has the will to improve the condition of its lower classes, the proffered funds may not be needed, while if such a determination is lacking, the offer of funds will not in itself create it. In all our foreign-aid ventures, we bank on the existence of an intermediate type of situation: a government is presumed to be teetering on the edge of taking a step in the right direction, but can overcome the resistances and ensuing difficulties only if it obtains control of additional funds. The chances of foreign aid making a difference in this fashion varies. For example, foreign aid is likely to increase the total amount of investment, although usually not on a dollar-for-dollar basis. Under present procedures, it is also likely that foreign grants and loans will lead to a somewhat more careful technical and economic analysis of projects than would otherwise take place. But the likelihood that foreign aid will play the decisive role in important areas of public policy such as tax and land reform is much smaller, especially since the prospect of receiving foreign aid has traditionally been one reason for which countries have been able to avoid and postpone harsh decisions of fiscal discipline.

OUR NEW POLICY raises even more bothersome questions. Let us assume that it is successful; would there not then be something distasteful to the Latin Americans about our having financed social justice for them? Receiving gifts always makes for emotional strains. But it is far less hurtful to pride and dignity to accept food and machines from the "richest nation in the world" than to risk being beholden to it for such intangible and invaluable achievements as independence, or social progress, or cultural advance. Some of those Latin Americans who have long been struggling to make their countries better places to live in will receive our new policy with mixed feelings at best. Moreover, the record of our recent Cuban adventure shows that the ability to spoil a good cause by embracing it is not a Soviet monopoly.

For various reasons, then, our intervention may well produce a substantial realignment of forces and groups in the countries concerned. The fight for social reforms is always

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hard, but it used to have the compensating attraction of being a real fight. It therefore called forth a certain type of supporters, some of whom may well lose interest once the fight has the blessing of all the authorities. Nationalist elements will certainly find fault with any reform the United States espouses and will shift either to defending the *status quo* or to advocating more radical measures. Thus, compromise solutions that might otherwise have been found may not materialize, and independent opinion could become more deeply divided as a result of our intervention—with the desired social reforms farther away than ever. Have we already forgotten the great and bitter lesson of the European Defense Community, which went down to its defeat in the French parliament largely because we supported it so openly and insistently? This episode should have taught us that the engineering of social and political change abroad requires more than a proclamation that we favor it. Our persistent illusions in this respect can perhaps be explained by the fact that it costs us great efforts to arrive at the decision of supporting European unification or Latin-American land reform. By the time we have laboriously convinced ourselves of the worthiness of these causes, we think that "implementation" will be simple.

Of course, it is just at this point that the difficulties begin. Frequently we "discover" problems that have a long history of sometimes effective, sometimes abortive attempts at solution. Recently, for example, we have "discovered" the urgency of doing something about Brazil's northeast, largely because the peasant leagues that have sprung up in that area and have taken over a few half-abandoned sugar estates are obvious points of penetration for "Fidelismo." But the northeast, with its periodic droughts and its failure to participate in the general progress of the country, has been troubling Brazil for almost a century: the first big drought took place in 1877-1880. One government bureau established to combat the recurrent droughts has just celebrated its fiftieth anniversary; a whole literature has sprung up about the problem. Similarly in Colombia, land reform has been "around" as an issue and object of policymaking for decades. Advances in some directions have been achieved, and delicately balanced alliances are constantly forming and breaking up. In this kind of situation, uninformed pressure from us to "get going," far from playing a decisive part, may well cast us in the role of bull in the china shop.

How to Change an Image

Clearly, the new administration seeks to change the image of the United States that has long prevailed in Latin America. According to this image our concern with the area is inspired by strategic and selfish economic considerations. Furthermore, we are supposed to be allied everywhere with big business and big landowners. A change of this image is indeed desirable, but there is some question whether we can realistically aim at becoming, by a few ringing proclamations and the disbursement of some funds, the patron saint of the Latin-American social revolution.

To attain the good relations we aim at, it might be more dignified and more effective if we tried first of all to destroy the old image by such practicable measures as turning the Panama Canal over to a hemisphere-wide organization; working out a mutually satisfactory status for our private investments, including gradual withdrawal where desired; and reducing obstacles to the imports of Latin-American products.

The giving of aid would then take its proper place as part of a policy designed to rebuild confidence and to overcome the prejudices and animosities that burden our relationship at present. Viewing aid in this perspective, we would emphasize our willingness to engage in numerous obviously useful co-operative tasks on the technical, local, regional, and national levels. In the course of the widespread co-operation that would ensue, we would have many opportunities to identify ourselves with land reform, low-cost housing, or other social-development projects. Such projects have been and are continuously being elaborated in many Latin-American countries. Thus far, we have not been able to help in their financing—and therefore have been without influence in shaping them—partly because our lending criteria called for loans that were "directly productive" or because we vetoed the use of dollar loans for expenditures in local currency.

We should make it quite clear that these restrictions are a thing of the past and that we are prepared and indeed eager to make some contribution in the "social development" areas. But this is a far cry from the pretense of taking command of the

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fight for social justice in Latin America.

These misgivings about our new Latin-American policies may go back to one basic worry: the whole idea of a new alliance, be it even an "alliance for progress," may not strike the right tone, given the prevailing mood of many influential intellectuals and policymakers of Latin America. They, like their Asian or African counterparts, are not interested in alliances with either us or the Russians. They want to chart an independent and somewhat unpredictable course between the two principal power blocs. They know, after all, that their bargaining power derives largely from not allying themselves definitively with either bloc. Moreover, they desperately want to find their own way to modernity and development.

Actually, there are perhaps more reasons for the new Latin-American leaders to seek an arm's-length relationship with us than for the Asians or Africans. In this hemisphere we have long been the dominant power, and if the Latin Americans wish to have their share of the "winds of change," as they surely do, they will want to loosen the ties that bind them to us and look for new connections, not only with Western Europe and Japan but also with India and the new African states. If we seek to keep them too close to us, there is the danger that they may bounce much further away.

The illusion that after years of frustration and alienation an alliance can be manufactured overnight by well-meaning phrases may have something in common with the illusion that the hold of a dictatorial régime that has effected a social revolution can be shaken loose by the landing of a few hundred volunteers. The tragedy is that our Cuban setback may make us more inclined toward demanding that Latin Americans declare themselves for us or against us. We could make no greater mistake. We must learn how to co-operate with the increasingly influential groups of new nationalists who wish to experiment with new forms of social and economic organization and recoil from any outspoken commitment to us. In other words, we may well have to choose between *alianza* and *progreso*.

The Anti-Soviet Leftists of Peru

GLADYS DELMAS

LIMA

"YOU ASK ME what difference there is between our getting a loan from Russia or from the United States? Imperialism in its economic form—in the movement of capital—is the same: both must be paid for. But the political consequences are different. The economic imperialism of totalitarianism brings totalitarianism with it. The economic imperialism of democracy allows us to keep democracy."

These words which recently rang out in Lima before a tremendous multitude—estimated at between six-

ty and one hundred thousand—were not said by someone who has generally been classed as one of our friends. On the contrary, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre started his political career more than thirty years ago with a program that was resoundingly Marxist, revolutionary, and specifically anti-American. Since then he has spent the greater part of his time either in jail, in exile, or holed up in the Colombian embassy in Lima as a political refugee. His name is still anathema to many of the conservative groups that dominate Peru. Yet the party he founded —Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana, generally known as APRA—is today the strongest party in Peru. Indeed, except for the small but growing Christian Democrats, it is the only party built around a doctrine rather than a personality. The evolution of Haya's political philosophy and his party's growth in realism and responsibility are among the most encouraging developments in a continent where such developments are dismally rare.

Haya maintains, of course, that it is not he who has changed but we. This is the game of "Who threw the first stone?" in reverse, but it is at least refreshing to find someone in Latin America who concedes that we have improved. It is perhaps in order for us to return the compliment. Let us examine the process by which this most durable of Latin America's revolutionary parties has reached its present moderation, and see what it holds for the future.

Inauspicious Beginning

The beginnings of APRA were violent and bloody. From 1919 to 1930 Peru was ruled by a dictator, Augusto B. Leguía. Haya, a young man of good but impoverished family from the northern sugar town of Trujillo, was head of the student federation of the University of San Marcos in Lima. Then as now, the student federations were centers of ferment. After a particularly bloody riot in 1923, Haya was exiled and went to Mexico, then in the throes of revolution. There, in 1924, he launched his party, which he hoped would embrace all of "Indo-America," as he wanted to rename Latin America. He called for the nationalization of land and industry, a united front of workers and intellectuals against both local oligarchs and their "Yankee imperialist" allies, and the political unification of "Indo-America," with the internationalization of the Panama Canal thrown in for good measure. The idea never caught on anywhere but in Peru, but there it spread like wildfire.

Haya returned to run for the presidency in 1931 and was adulated by his supporters and loathed by his enemies. "I want to see Aprista blood on every bayonet!" cried his successful rival, Colonel Luis Sánchez Cerro, elected in what impartial observers consider a fraudulent election. And blood there was.

The tale of the 1930's and 1940's is filled with riots and assassinations attributed to APRA and massive re-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prisals in which hundreds of Apristas were shot, jailed, or exiled. Often APRA itself was outlawed, but even its tacit support was sufficient to condemn a candidate in the eyes of the ruling oligarchy. The Communist label was pinned on it, not only by local landholders but by foreign businessmen as well. In those days "agrarian reform" and "national control of natural resources" were dirty words in the highly feudal society of Peru. Any movement that defended "workers' rights" was considered subversive in a country where the normal wage on the great haciendas was—and still is in many remote places—a few cents a day and a handful of coca leaves whose mastication allays hunger.

Haya claims that the growth of his party is not the result of any modification of APRA's demands; rather it shows that the rest of Peru is beginning to catch up with his program. There is some truth in the claim. An agrarian-reform bill has been presented to Congress by Pedro Beltrán, premier in President Manuel Prado's conservative government. While it falls short of the APRA ideal, and emphasizes the "jelling" of the large estates rather than their division, it is, one APRA leader said to me, a tremendous step forward. The simple fact that the problem can now be discussed opens a new horizon.

Another new bill has been presented on the sensitive question of oil concessions. It extends the concessions for thirty years but provides that at the end of that time the whole operation, lock, stock, and barrel, shall revert to the Peruvian government. APRA disagrees with some of the details of the bill but in general is willing to go along with the principle.

"We are not yet ready to undertake the highly technical operation of drilling and refining oil," said my APRA informant, "nor do we have the capital for it. Even if we did, there are more urgent things to do with money—roads, schools, houses. But now at least the principle of national control has been affirmed."

BEHIND THIS attitude of steadfastness, there is perhaps a defense mechanism at work. In 1956, weary of years of ostracism, APRA made a deal with Manuel Prado, who was then running for the presidency. In exchange for its tacit support, he promised to grant the party legal status. Prado was elected, thanks in large measure to APRA votes, and for the first time in years APRA could organize openly. But even if APRA should once again come within reach of power, its leaders still fear that a *coup d'état* would cheat them of it.

They have therefore been extremely circumspect. A slogan Haya uses repeatedly, "We don't want to take wealth from the wealthy but create it for the poor," may be meant to calm oligarchical fears. Haya points out, furthermore, that America is not Europe and that he has no intention of borrowing European socialist slogans. There is plenty of room in Peru and vast unexploited resources, he says; there is no need to take anything away from anybody to create a decent living for everybody.

He also professes a new dislike of the word "revolutionary"—which is still, however, the "R" in APRA. "I prefer the word 'transformation,'" he says, and preaches the virtues of gradualness. And since APRA is synonymous with violence for many Peruvians, Apristas are constantly being exhorted to observe discipline. "Take care, comrades!" Haya shouted to the Lima crowds, "There is danger that the desperate, the impatient, the demagogues will again destroy the conquest of democracy as they did in 1948." (It was then that General Manuel Odría, using widespread agitation as a pretext to throw out the APRA-supported Bustamante government, outlawed APRA.) Having suffered from the excesses of autocracy, APRA has now become a firm upholder of the democratic process.

A revolutionary movement which thus transforms itself is in danger, however, of losing momentum. What it gains in weight and sobriety it is liable to lose in dynamism. Some small groups of extremists have already splintered off and joined the Communists or Communist-front groups. The party theologians are therefore at pains to show that fundamentally they have not changed.

Haya now tells the following story. Away back in 1931, when he was campaigning for the presidency during one of his rare periods of liberty, he went into some American-owned copper mines in northern Peru. A group of miners, his loyal supporters, asked him just how far he meant to go in his anti-imperialism. "Will it go so far as to ruin this company, which means jobs for us? Before, on the haciendas, we got five cents a day and a small ration of food and coca. Now we have shoes, we are decently clothed, we have a club, we earn two or three dollars a day. Are you going to send us back to the hacienda?" "No," said Haya. "The anti-imperialism of APRA is a constructive anti-imperialism. We are not going to destroy anything. We are not going to nationalize for the sake of nationalization. Leave that to the Russians."

APRA Is Anti-Castro

Whether the APRA attitude was actually so reasonable thirty years ago is doubtful. Its anti-imperialism was certainly understood to mean anti-Americanism as recently as 1958 by the young APRA students who were in the forefront of the anti-Nixon demonstrations in Lima (although Ramiro Prialé, the APRA secretary general and head of the party in Haya's absence, was one of the first to express his regrets to Mr. Nixon after the riot).

What is important is that *today* APRA is not anti-American and, above all, that it is ringingly anti-Communist and anti-Castro. "We must not confuse the idealism of the beginning of the Cuban revolution with the sellout to something anti-American and totalitarian," said Haya. No other left-wing leader in Latin America has dared be so categorical.

It is important too that this sweet reasonableness does not seem to be unpleasing to the multitudes. The recent meeting in Lima to honor Haya's birthday was one of the largest demonstrations here in years. It was, in the opinion of qualified observers, at least fifty per cent bigger than the rival affair held a week later by a popular aspirant for political power, Fernando Belaúnde Terry.

Political analysts in Peru spend a good deal of time speculating on the present size of APRA's following. They seem pretty well agreed

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that it has a hard core of at least thirty per cent of the electorate, plus an unknown number of sympathizers. It is certainly by far the best-organized party in Peru. The régime of *convivencia* or "living together," by which it designates its agreement with the Prado-Beltrán government, has allowed it to bring its organization into the open.

The big old mansion which is the headquarters for APRA in Lima is a beehive of activity, a sort of combination mission house and Tammany Hall. In addition to regular political conclaves and study groups, there are free medical services, a co-operative pharmacy, a cafeteria, and free evening classes in everything from English, stenography, and painting to how to run a co-operative. APRA places great emphasis both on education and co-operatives. There is even a small bank, using party dues as capital, which will help members to finance the purchase of a refrigerator, for instance, without resorting to the usurious practices of Peruvian installment sales. "We know we can't do much with our small resources," said my guide, "but it's a way for our people to learn about money. Do you know that the average interest here is eighteen per cent per annum—on bank loans? Installment fees are much higher."

WHILE APRA's dues-paying clientele is largely drawn from Peru's professional middle classes, particularly the lower echelons, and organized labor, it was the first political party and is still the only one to profess serious concern for the vast mass of Indians, approximately half the population of Peru, who live quite outside not only the economy but society in general. Since they are illiterate, they cannot vote; many of them cannot even speak Spanish but use the Indian tongues of Quechua or Aymara. In its early days APRA to some extent glorified the communal delights of Inca days. If the party theorists have become a good deal more realistic about the possibilities of returning to these delights, they are still profoundly devoted to the Indian cause. Their projects for agrarian reform are based on co-operatives, which they feel are deeply rooted in the Indian way of life. In their public demonstrations, Indians in traditional dress play an important role. This is especially significant in Lima, where the prevailing upper-class attitude is to deplore the Indian "menace" (look at what happened in Bolivia!), to regard the Indians as an inferior race, and to ignore them as much as possible.

Many of the projects for the development of the highlands, where the majority of the Indians live, seem to be inspired by the desire to divert the pressures of a desperate population from the rich and relatively westernized coastal re-

gions. The Apristas, who in their vast majority are mestizos or mixed bloods, are in contrast proud of their Indian heritage. They delight in recalling the high technical level achieved by the Inca civilization, and take it as an augury that a race such as this, once freed from bondage, can again astonish the world by its capacities.

Willing to Co-operate

There is a good deal of speculation about the position APRA will adopt in the 1962 presidential elections. Will APRA run its own slate, or will it once again feel obliged to throw its weight behind a candidate whose program corresponds to its minimum demands? Haya in his recent speech opened his arms to all who would work with APRA on concrete solutions to concrete problems—agrarian reform, the gradual nationalization of natural resources, industrialization, the Latin-American Common Market, etc. Exactly how the forces will line up is still a mystery. An alliance is possible with either the Christian Democrats, with whom the APRA has much in common, or with President Prado's personal organization, the Movimiento Democrático Peruano, considered to be the most liberal of the ruling groups. Premier Beltrán himself has no personal following. One thing is certain, I am told: APRA will not make its decision until a few weeks before the election. The campaign in Peru is traditionally very short, but a last-minute decision is also a way to forestall attempts to form a powerful anti-APRA combination.

There are two popular figures who might be used to head such a combination: Fernando Belaúnde Terry and the former strong man who ruled Peru from 1948 to 1956, General Manuel Odría. In Peruvian politics, personalities are more important than programs, and more important than either are the groups who are backing them.

Belaúnde, a persuasive orator, is a curious mixture. By birth a member of the upper classes, he was an Aprista in his youth. He professes great admiration for the United States, where he got part of his education. (He is dean of the School of Architecture at San Marcos.) His party, Acción Popular, is backed by the most reactionary of the provincial landlords, but at the same time he has ostensibly welcomed Communists into his ranks and he has been careful to address no hostile remarks toward Russia or toward Castro. He has shown systematic opposition toward the Prado-Beltrán government, joining together those who think it is too far to the Left and those who think it is not leftist enough.

Odría has the same sort of mixed backing. The upper echelons of the army are with him, of course, as are certain elements of high finance, commerce, and industry. But he has a popular following as well among the very poor in the cities, who remember only the years of prosperity and relatively full employment, for which they give him the credit, and his limited but well-publicized largesse.

Meanwhile Haya de la Torre has gone to Rome, whence he distributes opinions on world affairs to news-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

papers throughout Latin America. There is some criticism of his prolonged absence from Lima. He answers by saying that he is not a *caudillo* and that APRA is not a personalized party but a democratic and organic movement. Since he is a rather flamboyant character, his absence probably aids rather than hinders the quiet, patient work of party organization.

CAN APRA be trusted in its professed devotion to democracy? Its enemies say of course not, and point to an outbreak of rioting following the shooting of an Aprista in Haya's home town of Trujillo just a few days after Haya's conciliatory speech. On the whole, however, the years of legality, of "living together," have been the most tranquil Peru has known in some time. This does not mean, however, that the APRA has participated in the Prado-Beltrán government. It has been, says Haya, "coexistence, not connivance." Outside an embassy or two, APRA has received little patronage, and since it was still outlawed at the last elections, it has no strong voice in congress.

The man with whom APRA has had to "live together" for the past two years is Premier Beltrán, who is also minister of finance and one of South America's most distinguished statesmen. In 1948, however, Beltrán was one of the backers of the coup that brought General Odría to power and outlawed APRA. Today Haya and Beltrán express mutual, if guarded, respect for each other.

THROUGHOUT Latin America it is on the whole the parties of the Right, representing business and the well-to-do, that are most likely to express friendship for the United States. The Left is almost always hostile. Indeed, anti-Americanism is generally the touchstone by which the Left defines itself. Since our new policy for the hemisphere is to stress social rather than economic progress, which is naturally of less concern to our present friends, it is particularly encouraging to find in Peru a party of the Left which thirty years ago unfurled the banner of anti-imperialism and now uses it against Russia rather than against us.

AT HOME & ABROAD

Trade Policy: A Strategy For the Coming Battle

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS

IN THE COMING MONTHS, Congress and the Kennedy administration will face the most crucial struggle over U.S. trade policies since the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act became law in 1934. The act itself is not up for renewal until next year, but the battle lines are now forming.

Even as our economy recovers from the recession, there is no letup in complaints about "unfair competition" from foreign imports or in demands for quotas or other protection to reduce or keep them out. Last year there were four requests for specific tariff increases for every one on file in 1955, and there were three opponents of further tariff reduction for every one in 1955. There is no doubt that the problem some businesses are facing is a real one, and their firms and workers need help from the Federal government.

Protectionist sentiment today is getting an added boost from the recent imbalance in our international payments and from the chronically depressed areas around the country where unemployment has persisted in recent years even when the business cycle was in its boom phase. Perhaps a quarter to a half million American workers are being seriously affected by concentrated import competition today, and many of these firms are located in chronically depressed areas.

Against this background the Senate recently took a giant step in the direction of greater economic cooperation with our allies by approving our membership in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Scheduled to start formal operations next September (after ratification by at least fifteen nations), OECD is the first serious attempt to build an economic complex of free nations equal to the task of closing the "development gap" between the so-called "have" and "have-not" areas of the free world. The twenty prospective member nations of OECD —eighteen European members, plus the United States and Canada—possess a total productive power of more than $900 billion a year and account for two-thirds of all world trade. Here is potentially the most important economic bloc in the world.

Trade Is Often the Best Aid

But obviously any retreat by the United States from the principles of expanding multilateral, nondiscriminatory trade could ruin OECD's

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chances of achieving its major objectives right at the start. Last year the United States imported nearly $15 billion in goods and services. Protectionist barriers erected around this largest of all national markets are bound to invite sharp retaliation from OECD members and other free-world trading nations. They will also affect the willingness of the other OECD members to shoulder a greater share of the aid burden in the less developed areas of the free world, a primary objective of the second Eisenhower administration and now of President Kennedy's. Indeed, the goal of supplying in partnership the $10 billion in grant and loan aid required annually by these areas could then not be realized. For that matter, if economic nationalism stages a comeback in the free industrial nations, how long could the United States maintain its present level of foreign economic aid? Last year, our $5-billion trade surplus was big enough to pay for our entire foreign-aid bill, economic and military.

Unless we devise a program that can negate the appeal of protectionism to businesses hit by concentrated imports, the Communists may be able to dictate the terms of economic survival to key nations in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. The United States now buys about a quarter of everything these nations export, including great quantities of raw materials required by our industries. The dollars they earn from us give them an amount to invest in development three times greater than the dollars we loan and grant them as economic aid. It would be unrealistic to believe that Congress could pass an aid bill large enough to compensate for any substantial decline in this trade.

Right now the twenty prospective OECD members are the principal trading partners of the Asian, African, and Latin-American nations. But we are on notice that the Communist bloc intends to reverse this situation wherever and however it can; and in view of the rising rate of Communist bilateral trade deals, this objective might be realized in more countries by 1975 than we dare to contemplate. It will also be more likely to happen if markets in the OECD countries shrink.

In other words, unless we lead the OECD bloc in a trade-aid offensive, the free nations will soon find their position as the principal trading partners of the less developed areas of the free world undermined. This is the general conviction of the leading legislators of the NATO nations, almost all of them foreign-policy specialists, with whom I confer regularly as chairman of the Economic Committee of NATO Parliamentarians.

From Textiles to Toys

We must start working now, not next year, to head off a damaging controversy over protectionism. Much valuable time has already been lost both in Congress and in the administration, even though the danger signals of an impending trade struggle are everywhere. Paralleling the all-out effort of many businesses, unions, and trade associations, sixteen Southern governors last fall pressed the Tariff Commission for restrictive rulings. In a unanimous resolution, they demanded a comprehensive investigation of our trade policy and urged specific protection to reduce foreign competition with goods produced by industries in the South, particularly textiles.

The accent on protectionism is not heard in the South alone. Congressmen from almost every area are paying increasing attention to similar

protests. Witness, for example, the uncomfortably close vote last month on Senator Barry Goldwater's amendment to the minimum-wage bill. It would have permitted import quotas based on differentials in wages paid to workers in exporting countries and those paid to workers in the United States. This generally protectionist Goldwater measure lost by only eleven votes.

The Kennedy administration did manage to head off the threatened May 1 boycott of Japanese fabric imports by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and at the same time took a first step to meet the basic problem. The business and labor leaders in the textile trade have been promised a program of special assistance by the Kennedy administration, including an international conference to discuss the quantity of textiles that Japan, Hong Kong, Pakistan, India, and others may export to the United States; presumably the conference will work out agreements on such things as voluntary quotas and minimum labor standards.

This approach, however, is woefully incomplete if it stops there. Those in the textile business who are hurt as much by technological obsolescence as by imports should be helped to increase their productivity, diversify their lines, or transfer into other economic activity entirely. We must make a fair distinction between producers who do and those who do not need Federal help. And we must be able to reduce gradually whatever new trade protection may be granted. Unless these other steps are taken, our major trading partners will interpret this first move by the administration as the start of a retreat toward economic nationalism. American consumers and taxpayers will face the prospect of supporting a *permanent* program of government subsidy that could extend far beyond the limits of the textile industry.

THE GREAT MAJORITY of briefs filed last year in opposition to new tariff reductions came from groups involved with fabricated metal products, industrial chemicals, cord and twine, electronic and office-machine equipment, sporting goods, buttons, and toys. They are not going to understand or tolerate "favoritism" toward the textile industry, which filed less than fifteen per cent of all opposition briefs received by the Tariff Commission in 1960.

In early February, President Kennedy told Congress that protectionism was no answer to our adverse balance of international payments, and he urged an export drive to earn more dollars. But we are still waiting for him to recommend or support—as he did in the Senate—a positive legislative approach to the very real problem of those who are already being seriously hurt by concentrated import competition. Helping hard-pressed industries and promoting exports are two sides of the same coin, but apparently Democratic

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leaders in Congress are waiting for a go-ahead from the White House before scheduling action on import legislation already introduced this session.

On Two Fronts

In company with other Senate colleagues, I have proposed two bills to head off the coming conflict over trade policy. One is a measure to stimulate exports; the other would help workers, businesses, and communities that are seriously disrupted by import competition.

The proposal to stimulate exports calls for the creation of a Council for Export Promotion, under the chairmanship of the Under Secretary of Commerce. The Council would augment, co-ordinate, and publicize the government's various services to the U.S. exporter. The proposed legislation also strengthens the authority of the Export-Import Bank to make short- and medium-term export credit guarantees against both political and commercial risks. The American exporter wants and deserves a service similar to that offered by the major exporting countries of Western Europe, where guarantees cover between six and fifteen per cent of exports annually.

These suggestions have been well received in the Senate by Republicans and Democrats alike, including John Sparkman (D., Alabama), chairman of the Senate Small Business Committee, who is a sponsor of the export bill. The importance of exports in our economy is becoming ever more appreciated, since some four million workers in the United States are engaged in producing and servicing exports. Between one-fifth and one-third of our production of civilian aircraft, railroad cars, construction and mining equipment, textile machinery, sewing machines, and steel-rolling machinery has been exported in recent years, along with ten to twenty per cent of our machine tools, coal, agricultural machinery and equipment, Diesel engines, trucks, and busses. All this is quite apart from our enormous agricultural exports. Forty-five per cent of all our cotton and wheat, twenty-nine per cent of our tobacco, and twenty-five per cent of our soybean production is exported.

Last year the United States sold $19.6 billion in merchandise exports, nearly $5 billion more than we imported in merchandise. Our exports to the new European Economic Community went up fifty per cent in twelve months and topped our imports from this area by $1 billion. It is obvious that increased exports can be a very helpful anti-recession measure and can contribute substantially to solving our balance-of-payments problem while helping to meet our international responsibilities.

MORE DIFFICULT but equally important is the form that legislation should take to help workers, business firms, and communities adjust to an economy where foreign trade plays an increasingly important role every year. Today those who cannot get relief under existing trade-agreements legislation turn to Congress. We are asked, sometimes almost ordered, to revise duties, broaden "Buy American" provisions, impose quotas, and strip the President of his power to negotiate reciprocal tariff concessions. While such remedies are usually unacceptable, the descriptions of hardship are often accurate and compelling.

The solution I propose is based on the principle of trade-adjustment assistance, which is endorsed by leading economists and key segments of management and labor. It recognizes the Federal government's responsibility to help workers and those injured by the national interest in developing multilateral nondiscriminatory trade as the cornerstone of U.S. foreign economic policy.

Under my proposed legislation, Federal loans and tax incentives would be available to individual businesses and communities that could prove hardship as a result of concentrated import competition. Money would be available to retrain and relocate workers. Unemployment payments could be extended and early retirement under Social Security would be possible. Businesses failing to regain their competitive position could be helped to diversify or to undertake a new line of production.

With trade-adjustment assistance, the Federal government could help individual firms and communities without according blanket protection to a whole industry. The present "escape clause" provision does not differentiate between those segments of an industry which can compete and those which cannot. Relief under it is on an all-or-nothing basis. But with trade-adjustment aid available, the Tariff Commission, which now rules on requests for relief under the "escape clause," would do so with the knowledge that help of a nonprotectionist nature could also be given. In addition, my bill would permit the President to limit additional tariff or quota protection recommended by the Tariff Commission to seven years, during which time it could be reduced gradually.

THERE IS growing bipartisan support for this approach in both Houses, along with a growing recognition that the President must play a more active role in this special area if we are to remove the major threat to the continuation of the broad trade policies this country has followed so successfully for nearly a generation. Such legislation may be highly complex and it may be highly controversial. But it is urgently needed to head off a really damaging struggle over present U.S. trade policy. It is vital to continue that policy both for the national interest and for peace.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Who Gets New Guinea?

JOHN WILLIAMS

HOLLANDIA

NEW GUINEA, the dragon-shaped island on the southern edge of Asia, is notably poor in natural endowments. The western half, owned by the Netherlands, is especially unproductive. The soil is generally thin, and there are large tracts of swamps. The few oil wells produce very little and soon will be abandoned. The climate, except along a thick backbone of glacial mountains, is damp and unhealthy.

Spanish explorers landed in 1546, claimed the entire island, and sailed away. The Dutch, although they occupied the nearby Spice Islands three hundred years ago, did not begin serious administration in West New Guinea until this century. Yet the burden of West New Guinea's control has become the source of a long and impassioned dispute between the Netherlands and Indonesia. Bitterness, increasing over the sixteen years since the Netherlands lost political and economic control of Indonesia itself, is now concentrated on West New Guinea. Indonesia, deep in financial chaos, is in no state to seek new responsibilities; but some of its leaders, seeing the Dutch still so close at hand, talk of the tiny New Guinea garrison as a "threat" which they have moved to counter by a $400-million armaments agreement with the Soviet Union.

In order to weaken Indonesia's claim to the region, the Dutch are now hurtling New Guinea's primitive people, the Papuans, toward self-determination. But while Indonesia's rich soils provide an agricultural strength that has been its salvation in the first wild years of independence, West New Guinea, it is widely agreed, lacks the economic potential to stand alone. Until recently Australia, which controls the more prosperous eastern half of New Guinea, had been thinking of independence for that region in terms of thirty or forty years. Now the Australian prime minister, Mr. Menzies, talks of self-determination "too soon rather than too late." For since West New Guinea cannot stand alone, the only alternative to Indonesian control is that both halves of the island achieve independence simultaneously and then promptly unite.

Cannibals in the U.N.?

The first step in the Dutch plans was taken on April 4 this year at West New Guinea's capital, Hollandia, a lonely town nestled around installations built as General MacArthur's forward headquarters during the Pacific war. Here, with much ceremony, a partly elected New Guinea Council, planned as the forerunner of a parliament, was established. The council, with a Dutch chairman, has twenty-eight members, all but five of them Papuans. It is empowered to discuss and suggest ordinances. In the event of a dispute with the Dutch governor, a final decision will be made by the Netherlands parliament.

The new Papuan councilors, giving their first press conferences to visiting correspondents, spoke confidently of the future and of their hopes to address the United Nations. Great numbers of their fellow countrymen have never seen an airplane, a European, or the wheel. Cannibalism is still practiced in some areas.

West New Guinea has an estimated population of seven hundred thousand. Infant mortality in some areas is thought to be well over fifty per cent. Each small tribe has its own language, an obvious handicap to the new nationalism. It was against this background that Dr. Theo Bot, Dutch secretary of state for New Guinea, asked the council to decide within a year on the possibility of fixing a target date for self-government. "May this road be a short one," Queen Juliana said in a message to the council.

The Papuans' exceptional backwardness was the major Dutch argument for excluding West New Guinea when the rest of Holland's East Indies empire gained independence. The Dutch also said that the Papuan differed from the Indonesian in race, religion, and customs. Indonesians reply that their nation of islands is compounded of racial and social variety, including both primitive and highly civilized people; that Papuans inhabit some islands near New Guinea that are now included in Indonesia; and that the Dutch themselves were apparently able to administer West New Guinea along with the other East Indies.

The Indonesians have scanned the writings of experts, many of them Dutch, to show that there is no sharp distinction between New Guinea and Indonesia in either human or plant types. According to their evidence, the change is gradual, with New Guinea forming a bridge between the distinct Australian and Asian types. Furthermore, say the Indonesians, the Dutch promised them New Guinea at a conference on Bali fifteen years ago, when their own independence was being discussed. Lieutenant Governor H. J. van Mook then declared, according to the official minutes, that "It absolutely is not the [Dutch] government's intention to shut New

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Guinea out of Indonesia, but rather to examine carefully in what fashion it should be included within the extent of Indonesia."

These arguments were once the basis of attempts to settle the New Guinea dispute, but Dutch-Indonesian relations long ago sank below the level of reasonable discussion. Indonesia severed the last shreds of diplomatic contact with The Hague in March; it now has nothing but abuse for the Dutch. The Dutch, for their part, talk of being "bound in freedom and conscience" to enable the Papuans freely to decide their own future. While this may be so, it is a motive inextricably mixed with resentment of President Sukarno. "Indonesia is Sukarno with dictatorship powers over press and parliament," Dutch Foreign Minister Joseph M. A. H. Luns said recently.

THE POSSIBILITY that West New Guinea, when granted self-determination, might choose union with Indonesia is unlikely, for the few Papuans sufficiently educated to understand the issue are Dutch-trained and have no contact with Indonesia. Papuan members of the New Guinea Council condemn Indonesia as much as any Dutchman does. Nor is this surprising. They fear neglect as minions of Jakarta, with its tendency to forget about the needs of outer islands; they hope for economic security in independence with eastern New Guinea and friendship with the Netherlands and Australia. Although development of West New Guinea was neglected until Indonesian independence, the impetus increased as Indonesian claims grew more strident. This year the Dutch will spend $26 million, inaugurating an ambitious ten-year plan to build roads, ports, and airfields, train more Papuan officials, and increase coconut, nutmeg, and copra yields. Indonesia, on the basis of its record at home, could scarcely match Dutch efficiency.

Dr. Bot, at the opening of the New Guinea Council, forecast that Indonesian demands would ease as West New Guinea advanced politically. This too is unlikely. Indonesia has its own interpretation of the council: its members are puppets, co-operating with the colonialists in suppression of the loyal pro-Indonesian population. The Dutch are accused of establishing concentration camps, burning homes, and torturing and murdering patriots. An Indonesian Army commander, in a burst of fervor, recently announced that in West New Guinea, "An Indonesian flag is kept in every home ready for the day of liberation." Statements by leading Indonesians have been increasingly inflammatory since the Dutch sent their aircraft carrier *Karel Doorman* on a brief visit to New Guinea last year. Indonesian

officials talked then as if the *Karel Doorman* were about to sweep into Jakarta harbor and raze the presidential palace.

President Sukarno has dragged out the New Guinea dispute through years that have seen the collapse of western colonialism in Asia. He has now became impatient, and feels he has nothing to lose by increasing pressure on the Dutch. A few dozen armed Indonesian infiltrators were landed in West New Guinea a few months ago. Those who survived swamp diseases and malaria were captured. However great a contempt the Indonesian leaders feel for the New Guinea Council, its creation confronts them with non-European opponents whose control of the territory's affairs will increase. This could make Indonesia's case less convincing, transforming present boldness into even more desperate acts.

Waiting for Mr. Kennedy

Will the Indonesians attack West New Guinea? While the Dutch were opening the New Guinea Council in Hollandia, Brigadier General Djatikusumo, minister of communications, said in Jakarta: "Our armed forces are ready to invade with all means at their disposal if the state leadership gives the order to do so." Official statements are filled with warnings to the Dutch to cease their "provocations and threats," against which Indonesia must "remain vigilant." This is part of the Indonesian war of nerves; General A. H. Nasution, the army commander, has rightly called the Dutch New Guinea garrison "insignificant." It totals about two thousand men, a few anti-aircraft units, a dozen British jet fighters, two destroyers, and half a dozen patrol boats. Indonesia has 240,000 men and—before any of the new Soviet arms are delivered—four destroyers, two submarines, transport aircraft, and squadrons of MiG-15 and MiG-17 fighters.

Three or four towns are all there is to capture on West New Guinea. The Dutch themselves have said that their widely scattered garrison could not hope to repel an invasion of more than a thousand men. An Indonesian attack, however, might not be simple to organize. According to amphibious-warfare experts, a detailed invasion plan, occupying a highly expert staff for perhaps a year, would be necessary. For unless the attack were swift and sure, the supply problem would become precarious. Major improvements to the extremely inadequate airfields, roads, and harbor installations on Indonesian islands in the forward area would also be needed.

Indonesia is unlikely to attack so long as there are hopes of winning West New Guinea with the support of international opinion. Indonesian leaders are hoping to win a more favorable attitude from Washington. They remember the last days of their struggle for independence, when United States pressure was largely responsible for the Dutch withdrawal. In its West New Guinea demands, Indonesia has the backing of the Soviet Union, Communist China, and the Afro-Asian bloc. If the United States could be added to the list, the Dutch might once again be forced to withdraw. During the Eisenhower administration the United States, while officially neutral, leaned toward the Dutch, partly because they were a valuable NATO ally not to be offended and also because the Indonesians were thought too tolerant of Communism both at home and abroad. The Kennedy administration, however, by refusing to be represented at the New Guinea Council opening, has led Indonesians to believe that there is a new sympathy toward Asia in the U. S. State Department. This, coupled with President Kennedy's refusal to give what Asians thought was almost automatic support to his NATO allies in

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their disputes, has led the Indonesians to expect a somewhat more favorable reception for their point of view, and they have apparently concluded that while the new administration's policy is still being formed any attack on West New Guinea would be unwise.

Wooing the Aussies

In its search for international support, Indonesia is worried particularly about Australia, which is also very substantially involved in New Guinea. Traditionally, and especially since the Pacific war, Australians have seen New Guinea as their continent's natural defensive shield. Australia's position in the dispute is crucial. If it refused to consider an eventual merger of West and East New Guinea, the Dutch would be unable to see any stable future for their territory and would be deprived of their only ally in the area. If the Dutch and Indonesians should go to war, Australia's stake in New Guinea makes its reaction impossible to predict.

Indonesia is trying to jolt Canberra from its pro-Dutch stand. Since Australia fears that Indonesian control of West New Guinea would endanger the security of the eastern half of the island, the Indonesians, usually slow to make military treaties, have offered Australia a mutual nonaggression pact in return for present neutrality. Australia fears Communism; the Indonesians point out that the continued Dutch presence in New Guinea strengthens the Indonesian Communist Party. Australia regards New Guinea as essential to its defense; the Indonesians argue that the rocket age makes this thinking outdated. Australia, as a white nation with a restrictive immigration policy, feels itself virtually isolated in Asia; the Indonesians remark that it would be wise to win friends in the area. Australia fears expansionist China; the Indonesians say they are worried too, and that nations facing a common threat must stand together. All this, however, has made little impact on the Australians.

The argument that Dutch retention of West New Guinea fosters the Indonesian Communist Party is far from spurious. Certainly President Sukarno has found the dispute useful, both to his position as an anti-colonial leader—"Father of the Revolution"—and for fostering unity in his fragmentary republic. But the Communists, too, have adopted the issue. Having no responsibility for policy, their comments are completely unrestrained, intended mostly to indicate a virile patriotism. This is worrying the army, now Indonesia's major anti-Communist force, which is responsible for the implementation of West New Guinea policy. The longer the territory is held by the Dutch, the easier the Communist drive to win popular support will become.

With Dutch, Indonesian, and Australian emotions so deeply involved, any forecast of West New Guinea's future must be hazardous. No solution agreeable to all is in sight. Indonesia will not consider a United Nations trusteeship. It would agree to let the U.N. take over from the Dutch only if the U.N. agreed to give up the territory within two years. This, of course, is no basis for discussions with the Dutch. For the time being, Indonesia is likely to increase its pressure and continue canvassing world support. If Indonesian approaches to the United States prove unrewarding and Indonesia finds Australia's position immovable, the danger will increase. Dutch and Australian cooperation continues, meanwhile, toward a united and independent New Guinea. The most serious risk, for the moment, is of a chance meeting between Dutch and Indonesian patrol boats in vaguely defined territorial waters near New Guinea. A clash leading to full-scale hostilities could result. Whether war had been planned or not would then be only a question for historians to debate.

The Winds of Change And the Lion of Judah

JEANNE CONTINI

Addis Ababa

His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie, Negus Negusti, Lion of Judah, and direct descendant of Solomon and Sheba, was once more in a vigorous mood when he received me the day after the public hanging of the last surviving leader of last December's abortive *coup d'état*. Standing in uniform with full decorations behind his big desk, the emperor radiated self-assurance in the conviction that once again he held the destiny of Ethiopia in his small-boned, sensitive hands.

I had gotten a good look at former Brigadier General Mengistu Newaye, the emperor's adversary, during the last phase of his trial. Although officially open to the public, the trial was actually held *in camera*, attended only by seven black-swathed widows and close relatives of imperial guardsmen killed in the revolt. The accused, in a clean white shirt and badly pressed civilian suit, sat stroking his bandaged cheek, watching the three black-robed judges with a small, ironic smile.

People who knew Mengistu Newaye well before the coup say that he was the traditional dashing officer and man about town, attractive to women, an intellectual lightweight. And yet somehow he ended up as a dedicated revolutionary, displaying an austere courage. Neither his six-hour speech during the last week in defense of the revolt nor his simple, dignified comments after judgment was passed were reported in the local press or radio. He accepted the sentence and refused to appeal (with a courteous bow of thanks to his lawyer), saying only, "I must die so as to see again those who died before, and to tell them the seed we sowed has taken root."

Though stripped of his rank, Mengistu Newaye put on his best uniform for the execution, and in bravura style jumped off the truck before it

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pulled away from the gallows. The crowd, which normally applauds at all executions, turned away silently under the fine early morning rain. It remains to be seen whether the myth of the father-emperor will prevail over the myth already taking shape around the memory of Mengistu Newaye.

The coup itself was not designed as a serious revolutionary attempt to overthrow the monarchy in favor of a different form of government. Led by a military elite, it was first of all the manifestation of a desire to liberalize the existing régime and accelerate the modernization of Ethiopia, to keep pace with the sweeping changes that are taking place elsewhere in Africa.

Although most of the planning was done by an avowed Marxist, Mengistu's brother Germame, the uprising revealed no evidence of Communist techniques, and it is generally conceded that there was no active foreign intervention.

The Newaye brothers had been carrying on secret discussions about the possibility of a coup for some five years, but the decision to move was taken suddenly at a social gathering in the capital on Monday, December 12; it was a farewell party for Germame Newaye, who was to return the next day to his post as governor of Jijiga Province. As head of the imperial guard, Mengistu Newaye commanded four thousand men, trained at a special school, better dressed and better paid than the regular army troops, and led by an officer corps seasoned in the Korean campaign. Having seized key buildings and locked up the imperial family in the Palace along with seventeen ministers and other dignitaries as hostages, the rebels held the capital in a state of stunned immobility for twenty-four hours. They might even have brought it off, if only they had not made two fatal miscalculations. Unable to get in touch with the head of the army, General Merid Mengesha, the rebels assumed that the army was with them. They also took it for granted that if the emperor were faced with a *fait accompli* while paying a state visit in far-off Brasilia, he would remain in voluntary exile or abdicate in favor of his son, Crown Prince Asfa Wossen.

Neither of these assumptions turned out to be correct. By Friday, December 16, it was all over. The emperor was returning in triumph to his capital, and the Newaye brothers had fled on foot over the mountains. After eight days of exhausting, parched march, they were betrayed to the police by the villagers of Bishoftu for the price on their heads. Germame was killed and Mengistu fell unconscious with a bullet through his cheeks. The body of Germame was flung on the steps of the Jubilee Palace at His Majesty's feet and strung up in the public square on Christmas night. Mengistu recovered to stand trial.

Distributing Favors

The hastily put-together twelve-point rebel program was composed largely of naïve demagoguery, but it did attack two fundamental Ethiopian problems: the growing conviction that public office should be based on merit rather than birth; and the need for land reform.

As things have stood until now, the emperor appoints, promotes, transfers, suspends, and dismisses the officials of all ministries and departments as well as provincial governors and mayors of municipalities. The chief criteria for ministerial appointments have been loyalty and blood lines, and key posts have unvariably been occupied by members of the wealthy but generally ill-educated landed aristocracy plus a few military men who stood by Haile Selassie in his fight to resist the Italian invasion. But no cabinet decision can take effect without His Majesty's specific approval. The emperor, an astute tactician, also maintains discipline by means of an elaborate game of musical chairs in which he is constantly reassigning and transferring government officials; it is the same technique he employed to neutralize rebellious tribal chiefs during the early consolidation of his empire.

The three-year-old parliament consists of two bodies—the elected chamber of deputies, which is reasonably representative, and the senate, whose members are personally appointed by the emperor. As an indication of the effectiveness of the senate, one seasoned foreign observer here told me, "If an official has fallen so far from favor that he can't be exiled as an ambassador or provincial governor, he is made a senator."

The question of land reform is infinitely complex, although everyone from the emperor on down concedes that it is necessary. Roughly speaking, Ethiopia is owned in almost equal proportion by the imperial family, the Coptic Church, and the Rases (the feudal nobility). There are very low taxes on land itself, and no tax at all on income from the land.

According to one American agricultural expert, the southern province of Sidamo has the most fertile earth in Africa, with rich topsoil from six to nine feet deep. And yet this source of a potentially thriving agriculture, so vital to the country's economic growth, remains sparsely settled and barely cultivated. The hard-working Galla tenant farmers have no incentive to produce more than they need to subsist since they are obliged to give up two-thirds of their harvests to a few absentee landlords.

THE EMPEROR relies heavily on foreign aid, but he insists on dividing up the control of even individual projects in a way that makes inevitably for duplication of effort, friction, and waste. The Ethiopian air force is being trained by the United States, Sweden, and Great Britain. The army has been trained and equipped by the United States, while Norway is training the navy. West Germany is participating with the United States in the Blue Nile power dam project; Italy built the Koka Dam; Yugoslavia is working on the Scebeli; the major burden for essential highway construction is being borne by the United States, but contracts for roads have also been awarded to Israel and Italy. Technical training centers have been or are being built by the United States, Sweden, and the Soviet Union. There is a Russian-staffed hospital in the capital, and Czechoslovakia has recently contributed a $20-million credit for the purchase of hospital equipment.

His Majesty has obviously adopted the policy, which has proved so rewarding in the Middle East and elsewhere in Africa, of making the big power blocs bid for the privilege of giving aid. On his return from

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Moscow last year, the emperor asserted publicly that he got more from the Soviets "without asking" than he had from the United States in the past ten years. He was at pains to give me, as an American journalist, the same impression throughout our interview, attributing the lack of progress in several areas to "promises" not kept by the United States and other "foreign governments" and praising the Communist countries for "meeting their commitments on time."

Actually, in addition to military aid (figures are not available), the United States has given or loaned $100 million for economic assistance to Ethiopia. The 400-million-ruble credit extended by the Soviets last June is still waiting to be allocated, although three different estimates have been submitted on the cost of building a gasoline refinery at Assab as the initial project.

A Little Learning

During his long reign Haile Selassie has worked hard to bring Ethiopia out of its ancient isolation. With great success he has united the many disparate elements of the empire and has campaigned all through the far reaches of his realm to project the image of himself as a father-monarch. As the most widely traveled of African leaders, he has tried to endow the capital with a sophisticated façade—a golf club, a race track, and a striking new convention hall named Africa House for international meetings.

The emperor is undoubtedly a man of great imagination. Unfortunately, while he is aware of the need for fundamental reforms, he is stubbornly convinced that no one else is capable of carrying them out. Furthermore, he is apt to leap capriciously from one new enthusiasm to another, so that many projects are abandoned after a promising start and most of them never get started at all.

His Majesty has based his long-range and very paternalistic program for progress on education. He has made himself minister of education, and indeed it is in this field that the most impressive strides have been taken. The outstanding achievement is the University College of Addis Ababa, which since its founding in 1950 has turned out nearly three hundred graduates. Plans have been made to expand the faculty, and the emperor has recently donated one of his palaces in order to offer training in law, medicine, economics, and the fine arts up to and including the graduate level. Tanganyika, Ghana, Guinea, and Kenya are represented among the eighteen nationalities in this year's student body.

During the short-lived *coup d'état* last December, students from the University College staged a demonstration in favor of the rebels. In order to save the students from the consequences of their rashness, Dr. Lucien Matte, the institution's extremely able French-Canadian Jesuit

president, obliged the demonstrators to sign an apology to the emperor. They were forgiven.

The government also awards a large number of fellowships each year for study at foreign universities. Most of the young men who become educated either at home or abroad end up in the lower ranks of the government bureaucracy in Addis Ababa, where they complain that there is no chance to exercise responsibility, initiative is discouraged, and salaries barely make a dent in the cost of living. Of the half dozen former students I interviewed, the three who were employed outside the government service claimed to be the envy of all their friends. At the same time, few are willing to make the sacrifice of temporary exile to the provinces, where there is more need and better opportunity to apply what they have learned.

These newly educated young people of the postwar generation offer both the best hope for Ethiopia's future and one of the most serious threats to their benefactor. Several of the leaders of the December coup could perhaps best be described as exasperated young intellectuals, especially Germame Newaye, who succeeded in ousting corrupt officials and instituting some kind of land reform during his terms as a provincial governor. The desire for change, which precipitated the abortive rebellion, is still strong even though it is more or less hidden and lacks any clear direction.

How has the emperor dealt with his loyal army, which put down the rising? The rebels had promised all infantry soldiers a raise that would have amounted to about sixteen American dollars a month to meet the high cost of living. His Majesty, having made a token gesture of a few dollars' increase shortly after the coup, was obliged to raise the ante under slightly humiliating circumstances. On March 20, a delegation consisting of about five hundred enlisted men and noncommissioned officers marched into the Jubilee Palace to ask for a further raise, an action that would have been unthinkable before the coup. After two days of wild rumor and great uneasiness in the capital, the emperor graciously agreed to the figure the rebels had asked for in December, announcing at the same time that he would have to reduce civilian pay checks.

The army is now in a particularly strong position, and with the examples of military dictatorships in Egypt, the Sudan, Turkey, and Pakistan before them, the soldiers of Ethiopia may make their own bid for power sooner or later. One difficulty, however, lies in the fact that the officers who would be most apt to lead such a rebellion—the well-educated young captains and majors—may not find much support from the semi-educated old-fashioned colonels.

What Next?

The goal of the December rebels was a constitutional monarchy with a responsible cabinet and a functioning parliament answerable to the people as well as to the crown. They hoped for an orderly transfer of power to Crown Prince Asfa Wossen. The prince has been kept in the background for years, but those who know him well are convinced that although he lacks his father's drive and dynamic personality, he is politically enlightened and capa-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ble. He can count on a certain amount of popular support in the Tigré region as well as from the moderate intellectuals in the capital. The role assigned to him by the rebels during the *coup d'état* is clear evidence that even they accepted the monarchy as indispensable in Ethiopia. There is little doubt that in a country whose people are still ninety-seven per cent illiterate and speak sixty different languages, with large Moslem and pagan minorities in the steaming lowlands, the throne is the only reliable symbol of unity.

Neither the army nor the exasperated young intellectuals relish the idea of waiting until the death or retirement of the emperor, now past seventy. But they are compelled to recognize the power of his personal prestige both inside and outside Ethiopia, which was unaffected by the coup. All political vitality centers in the capital, and the abyss between Addis Ababa and the rest of the country is deeper than the Blue Nile Gorge. The December revolt must thus be understood as a purely local phenomenon, which had little or no support in the rest of the country.

While the fate of another revolt would be uncertain in the circumstances, the reverberations of the first are still being felt throughout the capital. What still rankles is the discrepancy between the image of a liberal state as set forth in the newly revised constitution and the reality of an impotent, sometimes corrupt, and maddeningly inefficient bureaucracy. The emperor himself, with his usual keenness, has apparently come to realize how dangerous it is to try to run a modern country with a government based on nepotism rather than merit, and it was announced on May 5 that plans are being made to set up a civil-service system in Ethiopia. It remains to be seen, of course, whether this gesture in the direction of reform will be enough to prevent another revolt.

Even more important is the question of what will follow when His Majesty goes. Will it be a constitutional monarchy, a military dictatorship, or a bloody civil war with the empire fragmented into several ethnic groups as an open invitation to foreign intervention?

How Catholics Feel About Federal School Aid

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN

The election of the nation's first Roman Catholic President has been followed by the full-scale entry of the American Catholic hierarchy into domestic politics. Its concern has not, however, been to support President Kennedy but rather to oppose his education program.

Cardinal Spellman of New York did not even wait for the President to be inaugurated before denouncing, in the strongest terms, a proposal prepared by Mr. Kennedy's advisers calling for a major program of Federal aid to public schools. "It is unthinkable," said His Eminence, "that any American child be denied the Federal funds allotted to other children because his parents choose for him a God-centered education."

In March the hierarchy, through its organization the National Catholic Welfare Conference, formally declared its opposition to the President's program of grants to public schools unless accompanied by loans to parochial ones, which it felt were clearly constitutional. When the Justice Department announced that loans are no different from grants, Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt, director of the Education Department of the N.C.W.C., declared that to his mind, at least, this meant that grants are as constitutional as loans, and in that event the Catholics would ask for grants as well.

While this was taking place, the Catholic Church in New York State was vigorously supporting a higher-education program proposed by Republican Governor Nelson Rockefeller. As initially conceived, this program provided, in effect, a flat $200-per-pupil grant to all New York colleges and universities, sectarian and nonsectarian alike. This prospect of aid to Catholic colleges brought on sharp attacks from Protestant and Jewish groups. The Catholic response was no less emphatic. On the floor of the New York State senate, a prominent Republican liberal charged that he had been threatened with political reprisals by a Catholic priest because of his opposition to the Rockefeller program. Pressure on the Democrats was such that the state chairman, Michael H. Prendergast, came out in support of the Rockefeller proposal, despite the fact that the Democratic legislative leaders had put forth a quite different plan.

The reasons for this entry of the Catholic Church into national politics are simple enough. With the election of the Democratic President it has become distinctly possible that a massive program of Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools will be enacted. This would begin a new era of Federal support for education in the United States; the Catholic Church is adamant in its intention to share in this support *from the outset*. As this determination has grown, so has the determination among other groups that this shall not happen. It is not at all clear what the outcome will be. In the meanwhile it is likely that the question of aid to parochial schools in the North will join that of school desegregation in the South as one of the leading domestic issues of our time.

It is, of course, an issue rife with misunderstanding and suspicion. The immediate danger is that misunderstanding will turn into bitterness between the liberals on both sides. It is already clear that non-Catholic liberals of the kind who have brought the education program to the point of enactment are dismayed by the sudden Catholic reaction, which now endangers all their efforts. Hence the pleading that Catholics, whose votes as Democrats have made the program possible, hold off with their own request until the main decision on Federal aid is made. The Catholic response of "all or nothing" appears painfully shortsighted and selfish to such liberals.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is unlikely that the Catholic position will change. There are two reasons why this position has suddenly become so unyielding. First, those Catholics who are aware of the events that took place at the outset of the present era of state-supported public schools do not want to see the same developments take place at the outset of the Federal era. Second, those Catholics are increasingly convinced that the present parochial schools, deprived of public assistance, are placing Catholics at a decided educational disadvantage in American life—with all that such a disadvantage implies.

The origins of the present system of public schools involve the question of the constitutionality of aid to Catholic schools. Here there seems to be a considerable distance between the view of most of the forty million-odd American Catholics and the relatively few bishops, educators, and intellectuals who are shaping Catholic policy. Most Catholics, like most non-Catholics, would agree that public aid to parochial schools is apparently "against the Constitution." This doesn't mean that they like the fact but only that there doesn't seem much to be done about it: the proposition is never presented in terms of that optional level of constitutionality on which matters such as prohibition can be imposed or deposed according to the vagaries of the Protestant conscience and the state legislatures. Aid to Catholic schools is depicted as something incompatible with a deep and abiding spirit of the Constitution that ought never to be changed.

If this is so today, Catholic leaders reason, it must have been so from the beginning. Here is where the split comes. Catholic leaders *know* that for the first half century and more of the American Republic it was commonplace for religious schools to receive public aid, and it was regarded as unnatural for common schools not to impart a measure of religious instruction. To such Catholics, the First Amendment means just what it says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . ." Was this not in fact designed to protect the established religions in states such as Massachusetts, where the state constitution required that the public schools teach the Protestant faith, from interference by Congress? At the time, nine of the thirteen states had established churches. Such Catholics feel that it is only because most Americans no longer have the foggiest idea what an established religion is that they can be persuaded that the words of the First Amendment mean more than they say. It is thought not without significance that this latter view began to win acceptance only when large numbers of Catholics began to arrive in the United States. To appreciate the Catholic viewpoint it is necessary to know some of this history in detail. The events in New York, the first of the original thirteen states to prohibit the teaching of religion in public schools, offer a good illustration.

'A Common Burthen'

In New York City, as elsewhere, education had been largely a church function in the early days of the Republic. In 1805, however, a Free School Society was formed "for the education of such poor children as do not belong to any religious society." The Society's address to the public proclaimed that "It will be a primary object, without observing the peculiar forms of any religious society, to inculcate the sublime truths of religion and morality contained in the Holy Scriptures." That year the legislature established a fund for the support of common schools which was distributed in New York City to the trustees of the Free School Society "and of such incorporated religious societies in said city as supported or should establish charity schools who might apply for the same." Under this system Catholic schools, along with Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, Dutch Reformed, German Lutheran, and Scotch Presbyterian, among others, all received state aid.

Unfortunately, in 1823 it developed that the Baptist schools were padding their enrollment books and requiring teachers to kick back part of their salaries. In the upshot, the distribution of state aid was turned over to the city's Common Council, which thereafter channeled most of the public funds to the Free School Society, by then the Public School Society. Since the Society was strongly Protestant, most Protestants could accept this development, but Catholics could not. They continued their own schools, which soon came to enroll about half as many students as the public schools (a proportion that persists to this day). Nonetheless, almost half the children of the city attended no school of any kind. Of these a good many were Catholics.

Catholic discontent with this arrangement led the Whig Governor William H. Seward to propose the re-establishment of the original system in his message to the legislature for 1840. He declared: "The children of foreigners, found in great numbers in our populous cities and towns, and in the vicinity of our public works, are too often deprived of the advantages of our system of public education, in consequence of prejudices arising from difference of language or religion. It ought never to be forgotten that the public welfare is as deeply concerned in their education as in that of our own children. I do not hesitate, therefore, to recommend the establishment of schools in which they may be instructed by teachers speaking the same language with themselves and professing the same faith."

This was a crucial moment in the state's history. Unhappily, the discussion rapidly degenerated to the usual tangle of obtuseness and suspicion. Instead of waiting for the rural upstate legislature to ponder and act upon the proposal of an upstate Whiggish governor, the Catholics in the city immediately began clamoring for a share of public-school funds, to the accompaniment of the usual raving about godless institutions and Jacobin yokes. The Catholic bishop went so far as to offer to place the parochial schools under the supervision of the Public School Society in return for public aid, but to no avail.

The next year, Seward's secretary of state, John C. Spencer, issued a report on the controversy. Spencer, ex-officio superintendent of schools, was a distinguished authority on the laws of New York State (as well as de Tocqueville's American editor). He began by assuming the essential justice of the Catholic position. "It

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can scarcely be necessary to say that the founders of these schools, and those who wish to establish others, have absolute rights to the benefits of a common burthen; and that any system which deprives them of their just share in the application of a common and public fund, must be justified, if at all, by a necessity which demands the sacrifice of individual rights, for the accomplishment of a social benefit of paramount importance. It is presumed no such necessity can be urged in the present instance."

To those who feared the use of public funds for sectarian purposes, Spencer replied that all instruction must in some way be sectarian: "No books can be found, no reading lessons can be selected, which do not contain more or less of some principles of religious faith, either directly avowed, or indirectly assumed." As for avoiding sectarianism by abolishing religious instruction altogether, "On the contrary, it would be in itself sectarian; because it would be consonant to the views of a peculiar class, and opposed to the opinions of other classes."

Spencer proposed to take advantage of the diversity of opinion by a form of local option, leaving it to the trustees of individual schools, under the general supervision of a board of education, to determine the type of religious instruction they would have. The rivalry between sects would then take the form of improving their schools in order to attract students.

As was to be expected, the legislature put off immediate action on Spencer's report. But Catholics grew impatient. When neither Whigs nor Democrats endorsed the proposal in the campaign that fall, Bishop John Hughes made the calamitous mistake—four days before the election—of entering a slate of his own candidates for the legislature. Protestants were horrified.

At the next session of the legislature the Public School Society was in effect disestablished. Spencer's proposal for an elected board of education in New York City was adopted. Each city ward was to have its elected commissioners, inspectors, and trustees to run the common schools in its area. But the Protestants, foreseeing the numerical supremacy of the Catholics, blocked Spencer's plan for local option on religious instruction. Edwin R. Van Kleek, Assistant Commissioner of Education in New York State, has written: "In a word, the Protestants disliked secularism, but they disliked the Pope more." The 1842 law provided that "No school . . . in which any religious sectarian doctrine or tenet shall be taught, inculcated, or practised, shall receive any portion of the school moneys. . . ." Thus the sectarian position which in the Spencerian analysis would be described as "nonsectarian" won out.

Similar laws were enacted by the the other states one after another. As Protestant energies waned, the view became widespread that religious instruction had no part in education.

In 1875 President Grant (who was looking for a third-term issue) proposed a constitutional amendment prohibiting the use of public funds for any sectarian school or purpose. There is no question that American opinion came to disapprove strongly of any public support for private schools. Thus a development in public policy, closely associated with the Know-Nothing era, came to be described as a tenet of the Constitution.

Evidence of Failure

Even so, the present impasse could be expected to continue indefinitely were it not for an entirely new, unforeseen, and quite devastating development of the postwar period. Starting about 1946, Catholics began looking at the results of the educational system they had been supporting for the preceding century. First one man, then another, spoke up. The voices of individuals swelled to a chorus of Catholic intellectuals proclaiming what each had suspected but none had said: that Catholic schools were second-rate, and were turning out second-rate people. Not all or necessarily most such Catholics hold this view. There has been sharp dissent, but the initiative remains with those who first raised the question. To the extent that a Catholic intellectual awakening has been taking place, it has typically first manifested itself in a profound dissatisfaction with the current state of intellectual affairs.

Much of this discussion began with the founding in 1946 of the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs. Its proceedings and their aftermath have produced what one nun recently described as an "orgy of self-criticism." Fortunately, as the Reverend Gustave Weigel writes, "non-Catholics have politely and wisely kept out of the debate." But this has only made the self-incrimination sharper. Msgr. John Tracy Ellis began a widely discussed paper with Denis Brogan's statement that ". . . in no Western society is the intellectual prestige of Catholicism lower than in the country where, in such respects as wealth, numbers, and strength of organization, it is so powerful." "No well-informed Catholic," said the Monsignor, "will attempt to challenge that statement."

The statistics on Catholic contributions to the arts and sciences were known to be unimpressive and on examination turned out to be appalling. In a representative comment the *Catholic World* declared in 1958: "The limitations of Catholic schools are revealed each time the National Science Foundation Fellowship Awards are distributed. In 1956 the Foundation gave out 775 fellowships; only seventeen went to students in Catholic colleges. In 1957 the Foundation gave out 845 fellowships; only nineteen went to students in Catholic colleges." A former president of Notre Dame stated: "The 35,000,000 Catholics in this country and our Catholic educational system are not producing anywhere near this proportion of leaders." In a book discussing these developments, Professor Thomas F. O'Dea put it bluntly: the American Catholic group "has failed to evolve in this country a vital intellectual tradition displaying vigor and creativity in proportion to the numerical strength of American Catholics. It

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has also failed to produce intellectual and other national leaders in numbers appropriate to its size and resources."

The election of John F. Kennedy only emphasized this disparity. Here at last was a vigorous intellectual Catholic leader. And where did he get his education? Harvard University and the London School of Economics. During the campaign Catholic laymen expressed dismay at the paucity of Catholic advisers in Kennedy's brain trust. (Apart, that is, from his close personal aides.) Today there are not many Catholics among the hundreds of top appointments Mr. Kennedy has made. Of course, he would hardly have packed his cabinet with Catholics, but it is also quite clear that few Catholics have been chosen to help run the government because there are but few to choose from. Now, as always, there are plenty of Catholics in the top jobs of the party organization, which simply means that they stayed behind in the old neighborhood.

Much of this may be the consequence of a generalized cultural problem, but, like any group of Americans, Catholics have reacted to it by seeking to improve their educational system. To this end they need money. Catholics, who are not generally speaking an entrepreneurial group, who are not even, by and large, a middle-class group, are hard pressed to support a dual school system. It is said that Catholics are taxed double to support public and parochial schools. It would be more accurate to say that they are taxed one and a half times: once for the public schools, half for the Catholic schools. Half is what they are able to raise for their own children.

Even half may be an exaggeration. The cost per pupil in Catholic elementary schools in New York City is not one-third that of the public schools. Much of the difference comes out of the lives of the nuns and brothers and lay teachers. But some of the difference is accounted for by the quality of the education.

There are, of course, a great many first-rate Catholic schools. In many areas Catholic schools are demonstrably superior to their counterparts. But by and large the local Catholic school is weaker than the local public school; the disparity in incomes makes this almost inevitable. In any event, the drain of resources into elementary and secondary schools has severely inhibited the quality of Catholic higher education. (Of all the 260 Catholic colleges and universities in the nation, only two have Phi Beta Kappa chapters.)

Over the past decade a growing number of Catholic parents have become aware of this. To these parents, the question of sending their children to Catholic schools is no longer a question of making the sacrifices that this entails. It has now become a question of making sacrifices in the education, and therefore the future, of their own children.

This is not a dilemma any parent welcomes. This could result in unending bitterness and alienation. Here again the problem is peculiarly one for liberals. A good share of the historical anti-Catholic groups—a certain type of Mason, for example—are also conservative in politics and thus find themselves in full agreement with Catholics in opposing the Kennedy education program, although for quite different reasons. The liberals, by contrast, who are popularly depicted as favoring increasing expenditures in many an area of government and above all in education, seem to come to a screeching halt at the word "parochial."

A Dialogue

Catholic liberals are more than adequately aware that their church is viewed with suspicion by a great many non-Catholic liberals who regard it as an enemy of liberty. This is, after all, an old Protestant tradition. Moreover, of late the American liberal has commonly encountered a high proportion of Catholics among his more plebeian (and therefore more distasteful) detractors. To be blunt, there is a growing suspicion that many such liberals would not be dissatisfied to see Catholics remain—of their own volition—a relatively impotent because relatively uneducated group.

The fears on both sides are apt to grow worse. The heart of the problem is that for each the reservations and qualms of the other seem so preposterous as to be almost necessarily hypocritical. What is to be hoped for is that some manner of dialogue can be established between the two groups, so that each may come to see that, however preposterous they may be, the fears of the other side are nonetheless genuine and must be taken into consideration. Msgr. Hochwalt of the National Catholic Welfare Conference has asked for something of this sort, in the form of a national seminar among leaders in education and other fields to thrash out the whole question of constitutionality and related matters. He has been frank: "It would be better than waiting fifty years for the passage of piecemeal legislation. If the problem is unsolvable, it would show what the people think. If it went against us, I would recommend dropping our plans."

If, on the other hand, there is to be a compromise, it must take the form of giving Catholic schools some share of Federal funds. A vigorous dialogue on this subject, as against simply a static exchange of views, might produce a Catholic willingness to satisfy non-Catholic concern on two points. As a first step, public funds could be "sterilized" to ensure they are not in any way used to inculcate a distinctly sectarian view of events. (The notion that there is a uniquely "Catholic" version of American history, though unfounded, is still widespread.) Much of the concern on this latter point could be obviated by the simple device of requiring standard examinations for all students. Second, if Catholics do get any public funds, they must be willing to accept them on a frankly experimental basis, with the explicit understanding that they are not acquiring a vested right.

BEFORE any discussion of compromise can take place, however, it is necessary to dispose of the constitutional "issue." This is a procedural question that is at least as important as the substantive one. At this point it has become a matter of urgency that representatives of the Protestant and Jewish communities realize that if aid to parochial schools is unconstitutional it is in the way the income tax was unconstitutional: a matter of public policy rather than of democratic faith. Public policy is open to discussion.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler No. 33

by HENRY ALLEN

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the acrostician.

A. 31 224 145 81 184 166 206 203 4 195 30
To render or become socially or politically equal.

B. 154 2 182 46 90 53 180 213
Clearly developed, with all its elements apparent.

C. 176 6 18 210 138 36 16
The Acrostician is one of his successors.

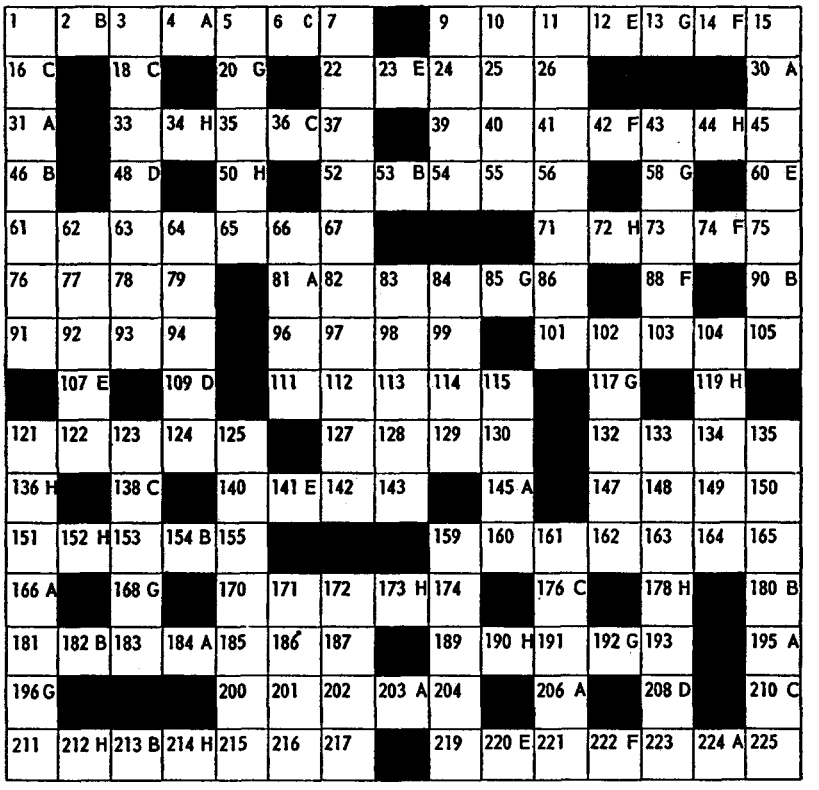
D. 48 208 109 Kinds of paintings. (Fr.)

E. 23 220 107 141 12 60
Do over; alter; renovate.

F. 222 88 14 74 42
A body of scholars trained in Moslem law.

G. 192 58 85 117 13 20 168 196
Vehicle that served for Helen Morgan, Paul Robeson, et. al.

H. 178 190 173 136 212 34 152 214 50 44 119 72
Scene of last naval engagement between surface units in World War II.



Across.

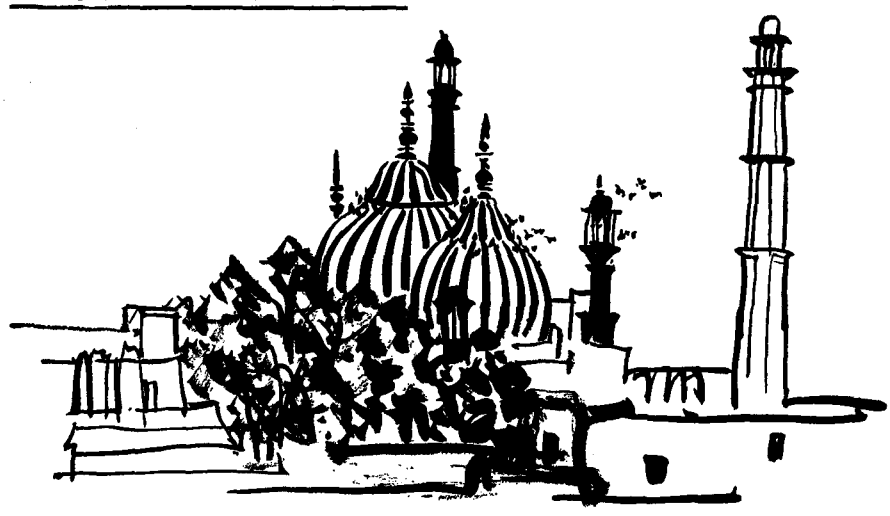
1. Dead as a dodo, but a little incomplete in test.
9. Led to a bump when fathomed.
22. A small book in or on a modern fabric.
33. I do it but he can't because he's mad.
39. Ask about a Kansas City See? Break out the A.A.
52. Did this lord write a canto about an industrial suburb of West London?
61. Not the Black Hole of Calcutta, but part of the desk set.
71. So I'm in love with a cathedral town near Ancona.
76. It's never poetic in engineering.
83. Lined up in love and war.
91. Around a great lake in Ireland.
96. A mob might use this stand for a soap box.
101. Lo and behold, pertaining to complications.
111. Cram love into this North African.
121. Aphetic form under both articles.
127. I'm in Los Angeles and in Peru at the same time!
132. Kind of cinder found in the comic section.
140. Toast without tea is just grain.
147. Digits used for love inset.
151. Flowers that smell sweet but cause sores.
159. Systems that can give anyone the DT's at home.
170. A fruit in the East, a pen in France, a feather in England.
181. The CIA is up to this famous Roman epicure.
189. Roots are needed for the trunk.
200. The tree of the century grows on a large island in the Mediterranean.
211. But not the tree everywhere but in the west used for main courses.
219. Argues back to free us at tea.

Down

1. We need a little book in the boundary where the goal posts are set. (3,4)
3. Rodin made the rink.
5. One in one's disagreeable sound.
7. There's a lot to ted. Everything in fact.
9. Interweave a small piece of ground for a map or chart.
10. Cool? Crazy, man!
11. A nobody not understood.
15. Ravish as a sop to a Scottish devil.
43. A bairn put the lid on the Church.
62. A female serf who has the East in her vein. (var. sp.)
64. Strew about and snatch forcibly away.
66. The Alamo? But not a rich soil.
83. Shelters where the bar is.
84. The man up from 111 across has ample space.
97. Take tea on the lam going up but beer coming down.
102. Biblical for having bills and French who need change.
104. I'd ale and was sick.
121. Tell a tale and eat a railroad.
123. Is a South American flavor from Brazil?
125. Cops hie to this inn.
133. The man in the crow's nest gives a warning shout.
135. Trials as is, sez who?
159. A thousand up a tree make rhythm.
161. Smaller than a pargana but larger than a patti on a raft.
171. The rule for bait.
172. Employs functions.

© 1961 by the Reporter Magazine Company

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A Short Story

Foreign Soil

ROBIN WHITE

WITH A CURIOUS feeling of dread, Sarah went out onto the veranda to see if those people were still there. She had given the baby his four o'clock, and now, except for the tired falsetto of Ahsai, the Hindu servant singing by the well, silence had descended upon the abandoned mission. Through low haze, trees and buildings had acquired a flat, unreal quality; and at first Sarah could detect no sign of life in the ruins across the courtyard from the bungalow where she and Morgan were camped. Then, squinting, she saw that the man and woman had not left; they had withdrawn into the shade.

She stood for a moment watching them: ragged creatures with a baby that did not cry. They had appeared shortly after Morgan's departure; their presence had troubled her ever since. Clearly they were not laborers, or they would have asked for work. They were not beggars because they had not begged. Nor did they fit any other category: transients would have moved on, sidewalk dwellers would have encamped, the idly curious would have asked questions. These people just sat there staring in a way that made her unpleasantly aware of how strange her tan Bermudas and blond hair must look to them.

The sound of Ahsai cheerfully belaboring his tuneless song rose and fell on the still afternoon. She called to him.

"Amma?" he said, and came up from the well.

He was a homely, good-natured boy in his late teens, flat-faced, with bulging eyes and a mouthful of gleaming, crooked teeth.

"Ahsai," she said, "who are those people?"

"Cocko-roachu," he replied.

"Cockroaches!"

He beamed and wagged his head.

"That's an odd thing to call them," she said. "What can they be up to?"

"Sumah," he said, shrugging, which meant "without purpose," his stock answer for everything he did not know how to explain.

"Well, would you please ask?"

He trotted across the courtyard and began shooing the people off.

"No, no," Sarah protested. "Ask what they want."

He did, then trotted back to the bungalow. "Nothing," he said.

"So what are they doing there?" she said.

Again he crossed the courtyard and returned. "Sitting," he said.

She had to send him over to find out *why* they were sitting.

This time the answer was, for Ahsai, copious: "Too much sun is raining. They wish rest."

"They'll have to rest elsewhere," she said. "I won't have them staring at me."

Ahsai clapped and shouted from the steps. The people moved slowly away.

"Thank you, Ahsai," Sarah said.

He flared his nostrils importantly and returned to work. The moment he was out of sight, the people drifted back to their orginal position. Sarah considered recalling him but decided against it, doubtful that he would achieve anything—over and above waking the baby.

"Cocko-roachu," she mused. There *did* seem to be something repulsive in the way they squatted. She looked at her watch and wondered what was keeping Morgan.

ALTHOUGH she had just tucked Georgie in, she became suddenly anxious about him. She hurried inside and bent over the crib. He lay asleep on his stomach under the canopy of mosquito net, thumb in mouth. For some reason she felt compelled to search the area to make sure there were no cockroaches. Not fully satisfied, she raised the net and checked the covers. She thrust a hand into his diaper to see if he needed changing. He didn't, but as her fingers touched his flesh, he began sucking his thumb. She had to fight down an urge to squeeze him, wake him for the reassuring delight of his company, of seeing him drool and chortle as she counted his toes, took little bites from his tummy. She let her hand rest for a moment on his buttocks. Then with elaborate care she retucked the mosquito net and surveyed the room.

Except for the cots, suitcases, camp table, and food box, the place was empty. And it smelled—of crumbling plaster and old tile, of dank, gloomy corridors. Even with an abundance of furniture, it still would have felt like a tomb, she thought, wondering how anyone had ever managed to live here. She went over to the food box and capped the Noxzema jar of margarine. Somehow it changed the taste to store margarine in a blue jar meant for skin cream, but containers were hard to come by in South India and, as

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Morgan had pointed out, the wide mouth of the Noxzema jar—or the Burma Shave one—was just right for storing and serving gooey stuff while camping in the heat. The jar seemed typical of her Indian experience: everything strange, incomprehensible, and even familiar articles like margarine made different by the container.

DISTANTLY she heard a faint metallic ticking. The sound grew until she recognized it as a car churning over the dirt road to the mission. She checked herself in the polished steel mirror on the table, then went onto the veranda prepared to greet Morgan with maximum enthusiasm.

To her surprise she saw not the old Chevy but a jeep race across the compound, circle violently in the courtyard, and skid to a stop. The driver, an Indian in khakis, hopped out, coughing and waving at the dust, and came over to the veranda. He was handsome, middle-aged, neatly groomed, and looked as if he might be a policeman. Sarah felt a twinge of fear, thinking something had happened to Morgan.

The man saluted with a wide sweep of his hand, palm forward, strode onto the veranda and removed his topee.

"Mrs. Walker, I presume," he said.

"Yes," she replied, sure now that he brought bad news.

"Jayraj at your service, Madame," he said. "I wish to report that your husband has experienced automotive difficulties some five kilometers distant."

"Oh!" Sarah said. "It he all right?"

"He personally is intact," Mr. Jayraj said. "The same, however, may not be said for his auto."

"An accident?" she said.

"Breakdown," Mr. Jayraj said. "He requested me thusly to inform. Also to extend humble apologies for anxiety the delay may have caused."

Sarah sighed with relief. "What's wrong with the car?"

"Hard to tell," he said. "At my departure he was still researching to locate the nature of the illness. Such a crowd there was gathered about him!"

"A crowd?"

"Your husband is a gay fellow, Madame. Everyone he is making laugh for his funny talk to the auto. I thought at first some form of road circus it was."

"Oh, good grief!" Sarah muttered.

"By increasing degrees only I was able to approach for purposes of offering assistance," Mr. Jayraj said. "I shall again check on him presently."

"That's very thoughtful of you."

"No mention," he said. "Simply courtesy of the road. We drivers are a clannish lot, you know. We are an international set."

"You must be parched," Sarah observed. "May I offer you something to drink? Tea? Coffee? Lime juice?"

"Indeed I should be delighted for a cooling drink of pure water," he replied. "In scorching weather one must maintain sufficient fluid in the mental radiator, isn't it?"

"Absolutely," she said with a chuckle. "Please sit. I'll be right back."

Mr. Jayraj accepted a folding chair, and Sarah went around to the side veranda for a cup of water. Then she arranged some fruit on a metal plate and returned to Mr. Jayraj.

"AH! A repast in the wilderness!" he said. He drank from the aluminum cup without touching it to his lips. She offered him fruit.

"Thanks, no," he said. He nodded in the direction of the front room. "I notice Madame has a child?"

"That's right." She set the fruit down and sat on the chair beside him.

"Will it be he or she?" he asked.

"A boy," Sarah said. "Four months."

"May I inquire, are you modern or antique about such things?"

"I'm afraid I don't understand the question," she said.

"That is, will you employ bottle or bodily methods?"

Sarah tried not to smile. "I breast-feed him."

Mr. Jayraj looked away and cleared his throat. "Charming," he said.

"Do you have children?" she asked.

"Alas, no. I am a bachelor," he said. "That is to say, I am now *de*tached, having once been matrimonially *at*tached."

"Do you mean you're divorced, or a widower?"

"Both," he replied. "You see, I was at one time Raja of this district. I became marriaged at fourteen, coronated at fifteen, deposed by Independence at sixteen, matrimonially detached at seventeen. My wife was a child only. The match was dissolved before I made her acquaintance. Now recently I hear she has deceased." He paused. "One might say I have lived a highly compressed life."

"I should say you have!" Sarah exclaimed, fascinated. "And rather tragic, too, I imagine."

"Not at all," Mr. Jayraj said cheerfully. "Being now myself only, I am happier than when I had to do with much kingly business. It is like my name: Mutthu Vijaya Narasingha Maharajaraja—a great conglomeration of ancestral sounds. Deposed, I quickly tweezed them out, making myself simply as Jayraj. No more."

"I see," Sarah said. "And have you been able to find some . . . some other profession?"

"I have become a success at the mills business," he said.

"What sort of mills do you own?"

"Mills, mills," he said. "We have no sorts."

"I mean," she said, "what do you usually mill?"

"Madame, we don't mill things. We manufacture them."

"Oh," Sarah said, and decided not to ask if by mills he meant factories, and if so what his factories managed to manufacture.

He looked curiously at her. "Have you come here as missionaries?"

"Just visitors," she said.

"But what do you find to visit in this . . . this . . ."—he gestured about him—". . . this decomposed place?"

"Morgan was born here," she said.

"Ah . . ." he said, visibly touched. "A recovery of things passed, a poetic reflight of the soul through time . . ."

"Mostly we're just looking up his old friends," she said.

"For you, however, this is a first trip to our country?"

"Yes," Sarah said.

"And how are you enjoying?"

"Well, I have to admit it's a little strange."

"Strange?" he said. "In what way?"

She glanced across the courtyard at the people. "Maybe exotic would be a better word."

"What will be exotic to you?" he asked.

"Oh, food, customs, language—I

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A SPECIAL OFFER

FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS ONLY

HALF PRICE

ONLY $2.50 FOR 20 ISSUES OF THE REPORTER

BRINGING YOU THE NEWS YOU CAN'T FIND ANYWHERE ELSE

READING The Reporter regularly keeps you *ahead* of the headlines, prepared for the important news. Here, for example, are some of the most memorable news stories of the past few years, and you could have read them only in The Reporter:

IN 1959, Douglass Cater's two-part "Government by Publicity"—the revealing study made of the Washington correspondent's far-reaching and little-known influence on government policy

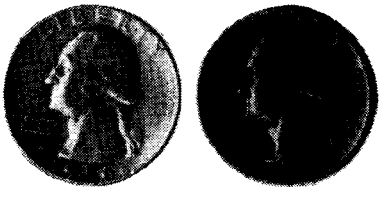
ALSO in 1959, Henry A. Kissinger's essay "The Policymaker and the Intellectual"—a brilliant analysis of the causes that make for sterility in our foreign policy

IN 1958, the first appearance in English of "Doctor Zhivago"—three long excerpts in The Reporter two months *before* the book was published here

IN 1957, "The World of Jimmy Hoffa"—a searching series on the Teamster leader published *before* the Senate investigation

IN 1956, prophetic studies of revolutionary unrest in Poland and Hungary—a month *before* the uprisings; and in previous years, pioneering studies on public-relations manipulations of government; uses and abuses of the lie-detector; wiretapping; the full story of the China Lobby

FOR outstanding public service . . . for consistently bringing its readers the facts they *need* to know and can't find elsewhere . . . The Reporter has already won eighteen major journalism awards.



GIVE your friends a subscription, too. With our special offer, you pay less than a penny a day—only $2.50 for 20 issues (40 weeks). Charge the subscription if you like—we'll be glad to bill you later. Your subscription—or your friends'—will begin as soon as we receive your order.

MAIL THE CARD TODAY
FOR THE HALF-PRICE RATE!

Regular rates: 1 year $6, 2 years $9.50, 3 years $12

Add $1 per year for foreign postage

THE REPORTER

660 Madison Ave., New York 21, N. Y.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can't seem to get used to anything. Those people, for instance." She pointed.

"Simply they cast Evil Eye," he said.

"Evil Eye? How can you tell?"

"Look at them. A man, a woman, very poor, traveling with child. To them you are the epitome of all riches. So they will sit and envy."

"But you called it the Evil Eye," she said.

"Have you not envied?" he said.

"Yes, but Evil Eye implies inflicting injury."

"Do you then wish well to those you envy?"

"I suppose not," she said uncomfortably. "Anyway, it's still exotic."

He smiled. "To your husband it will not be so, isn't it?"

"Of course it's all quite natural to him," she said.

"EXOTIC," he said. "An odd word. Meaning foreign? Something introduced from another country?"

"Sounds like a fair definition."

"Then I question which is exotic," he said, "you or those people."

"But *I'm* not exotic," she protested.

"You have been introduced from another country," he said, "and that is the point. Are you Europe-traveled?"

"Yes."

"And was it exotic?"

"No, I wouldn't say so."

"But Europe is not your native country," he said. "Therefore it is foreign. Yet you do not call that place exotic. I think in your mind you shall have equated exotic with foreign things of the Orient only. Am I correct?"

"Perhaps you are," she admitted.

"Let me ask, then, what exactly you find exotic about here? Look closely. Speak shamelessly. Am I exotic?"

"Why, not really," she said, thinking that he reminded her of the postman. "No, of course not."

"And the bungalow? The buildings? The trees?"

"Separately none of them is exotic. But together they do still seem so." She thought of the margarine in the Noxzema jar. "A Hindu temple is definitely exotic, for instance."

"Temples are made of stone," he said.

"Not the stone," she said, "the carvings—those statues of men with elephant heads and lots of arms."

"Are they more exotic than a Picasso which puts both eyes on one side like a flatfish?"

"Now that you mention it, no. But then there's the music. It's all so weird and formless and, well . . ."

"Progressive?" he said.

Sarah laughed. "You're too quick for me," she said. "I think you could argue me out of anything, except those people over there."

"Admittedly they may appear Tobacco Roadish," he said. "However, they appear so to me, too; therefore your preoccupation with them cannot be related exclusively to nationality difference."

"I'm not preoccupied with them," she said.

"Since we have been talking, you have been unable to put them from mind," he said. "If it pleases you, I shall be happy to drive them off."

"That won't be necessary," she said.

Mr. Jayraj got up. "Very well."

She saw that he meant to leave. "But I would appreciate it," she said quickly, "if you asked what they're doing."

"Certainly," he said, and went down the steps.

She watched from the veranda as he crossed the courtyard and spoke to the people.

"They are outcaste," he said, coming back, "and have traveled to the mission not knowing that it is closed. Now they have no place to go."

"Why did they come to the mission?" Sarah asked.

"In order to dispose of the child," he said.

"Dispose of their child!?" she said. "But why?"

"Who can say? Simply they wish to dispose of it." He adjusted his topee. "Well, Madame. It has been a pleasure. You have greatly refreshed and diverted me. Now I must be off."

He saluted grandly and climbed into the jeep. A moment later he was gone, trailing dust. Silence descended again on the mission.

Sarah looked at the empty folding chairs. Her discussion with Mr. Jayraj left her vaguely troubled. As she thought over what had been said, she realized that she had focused her attention on exoticness, when after all that was not what she really minded. What bothered her was the feeling she had about India—as if it were another woman who drew Morgan away, leaving her alone to face these things she could not understand and which, like the couple, were oddly threatening.

That was the word, she thought: not strange, not exotic, but threatening. And those people over there were not just part of the threat, they were the personification of it. They had appeared after Morgan had gone; she was convinced they would not disappear until he returned.

The sight of them disgusted her. Here were two adults bent on getting rid of their child. That failing, they spent the afternoon sitting. Had she found herself unable to provide for Georgie, she certainly would not sit. She would work to keep him, *do* something. And that, she reflected, was what made this country so impossible. People not only accepted misfortune, they salaamed to it. The couple meekly accepted that they could not provide for the child. Ahsai accepted their presence with a shrug and called them cockroaches. Mr. Jayraj looked at them and said they were the Evil Eye. It was not the life, it was the attitude of the people toward life that perplexed her.

The sun had now set. In the waning light Sarah checked again on Georgie. He was still asleep, which meant he was out for the night. Like a miniature Morgan, fed and comfortable he slept when she most needed his company.

RETURNING to the veranda, she saw the people were preparing to spend the evening. Enough was enough, and that was going just too far. She decided to have it out at once—either persuade or pay them to leave.

"Ahsai!" she called.

He shuffled around from the side veranda.

"Ahsai, tell those people to come here. I'd like a word with them."

The order puzzled him, but he obeyed without protest. She batted mosquitoes as she watched him cross the courtyard. In the twilight the sound of his voice carried with a rasping quality of nearness. He

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The crisp and sinewy prose of
THE NEW ENGLISH BIBLE
has won praise from perceptive judges

John Masefield:

"The work, greatly planned, has been manfully done; that which slept has been awakened." *(The Times,* London)

Clifton Fadiman:

"Judged purely as a work of prose, this remarkable new version seems to me to achieve its purpose admirably."

Mary Ellen Chase:

"Among all modern renderings I'll give it A plus."

Gilbert Highet:

"Of all the translations known to me, THE NEW ENGLISH BIBLE seems to reproduce most closely and accurately the bare simple style of the Gospels in their original Greek, without perplexing obscurities or false archaisms."

Edgar J. Goodspeed:

"It is no revision of some earlier version that confronts us, but a bold new translation, with all that that implies. And this prepares us for the freshness and boldness of almost every line . . . a notable contribution to better understanding of the New Testament." *(Chicago Tribune)*

Lewis F. Ball:

"In short, it is eloquent and beautiful and clear . . . Whenever I get a new rendering of the New Testament, I always turn to certain passages as touchstones: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Magnificat, the Benedictus, the Miracle at Cana, Love (I Corinthians 13) and the final chapters of Revelation. All of these in THE NEW ENGLISH BIBLE stood up well — I may say superbly. Their rhythms are already haunting me." *(Richmond Times-Dispatch)*

460 pages • At all bookstores • $4.95

J. B. Phillips:

"Without the slightest doubt this new version will be read by millions* throughout the English-speaking world . . . it is a magnificent and memorable accomplishment."

James B. Pritchard:

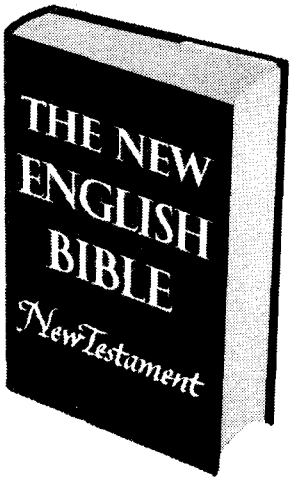
"A masterpiece of felicitous rendering of the most ancient and reliable witnesses to the original . . . This reviewer's nostalgia for the more familiar soon gave way to excitement over the discovery on every page of examples of clear and lucid phrasing in familiar narratives and ideas." *(San Francisco Chronicle)*

Cecil Northcott:

"It is universal yet personal, timeless yet contemporary . . . a treasure to be discovered and loved." *(Christian Century)*

Rudd Fleming:

"What is chiefly important about the new translation is the courageous simplicity with which it conveys the meaning of the Greek in thoroughly contemporary English . . . this new rendering brings us the joy, immediate and unmistakable, of reading a part of the Bible in the company of good and learned men whose language is refreshingly our own." *(Washington Post)*



***2,825,000**
copies in print or printing

THIRTEEN LARGE PRINTINGS IN THE UNITED STATES

Published jointly, throughout the world, by

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Word puzzle fans!

A new twist in brain-teasers—cross-words with a built-in acrostic and challenging double pun-and-anagram clues. 50 exciting puzzles, 12 pre-tested in **The Reporter**, 38 entirely new. "Completely absorbing."—MRS. RICHARD RODGERS

only $1.95

ACROSTICKLERS

THE REPORTER PUZZLES by Henry Allen

VIKING

Have *you* tried THE REPORTER Puzzle?

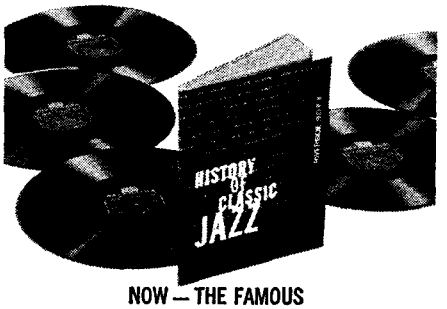
Turn to page 38

EUROPE

A low-cost unregimented tour with the fun of personal discovery. A unique route—up to 70 days & 24 countries on & off the beaten path. Russia, Spain, North Africa optional. Unless you're set on the conventional tour, write:

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Box R Pasadena, California

11,000 PAPERBACKS
NEWEST CATALOG 122 pp
SEND 25c Paperbook Gallery
27 Third Ave., N. Y. 3



NOW — THE FAMOUS

HISTORY OF CLASSIC JAZZ

WITH **60 JAZZ RECORDINGS** ON 5 12" LP's
PUBLISHED AT $25 — NOW ONLY **$9.95**

Armstrong, Morton, Oliver, Beiderbecke, Waller, Bechet and hundreds more. 5 hours playing time.

Plus illustrated book by Charles E. Smith with discographical notes and index of musicians and selections. A collector's item. Handsomely boxed. Send only $9.95 to Publishers Central Bureau, Dept. CJ-13, 100 E. 29 St., N. Y. 16. Postage extra on C.O.D.'s. Refund in 10 days if not delighted.

seemed to have some difficulty persuading the people to come with him, and when he finally did, they followed in such a hesitant, fearful manner that he had to stop every few feet to encourage them with gestures. Sarah went down the steps.

At a respectful distance the man salaamed to her. He was lean and tough-looking, but with eyes so gaunt and sad that she could not find it in her to speak firmly. Instead, she told Ahsai to ask him to come closer with his woman, who, Sarah noticed, was hardly more than a girl.

Ahsai scratched an armpit. "Too fearing," he said.

"I want to know about the child," she said.

"No good home," Ahsai explained. "Bad fellow hit."

She tried several approaches, to no avail, in an effort to determine which of them had been hit, why and how badly. But all she could learn through Ahsai was that there had been trouble, that they had neither money nor relatives and did not want to go away until they had disposed of the baby. It made no sense.

Thinking to take a peek at the child, she reached for the cloth in which it had been wrapped. As she pulled gingerly at it, she discovered that by mistake she had hold of the woman's sari. It slipped from her shoulder, exposing the woman's broken useless breasts where someone had taken a whiplash to her.

"Tell her come inside," she said to Ahsai, and took the baby from the woman.

She went quickly into the bungalow and made a place for it on one of the camp cots while she lighted a lamp. Then she removed the dirty cloth wrapped around it, noticing in the dull glow that it was a girl, quite emaciated.

At the sight of its helplessness, she felt a sudden rush of milk. She gathered the baby into her arms and, sitting down on the cot, opened her blouse with trembling fingers. Feebly the small head responded to the touch of her flesh. As it turned and to her exquisite relief attached itself, she looked up at the couple standing in the doorway. Tears welled in her eyes; and all at once it seemed to her as if some warm bright spot below her chest grew and expanded until it filled and made beautiful the night and the naked room.

Let's See Your Rapport Card

ELAINE KENDALL

SOMETIME between the year I got my last one and the day my son brought home his first one, school systems throughout the country have furtively abandoned the report card as I knew it. The ones I remember were about four inches by six. They were a yellowish tan color, the same shade as the walls of the principal's office. The subjects we studied were listed clearly on the left-hand side—reading, history, arithmetic, penmanship, and deportment—and the grades we received marched inexorably down the right. "A" was excellent, "B" good, "C" fair, "D" poor, and "E" meant failure. A teacher who wanted to express the more subtle gradations of achievement could indicate them with a plus or a minus. That was about as equivocal as things ever got. Those report cards were so lucid that even a child could read them. Actually, that may have been the whole idea.

Today, a report card must be attacked as if it were electronic music or the minutes of the American Association of Clinical Psychologists. One needs a kind of third ear and a good grounding in the behavioral sciences to get anything at all out of the bulky, ambiguous pastel documents that are currently being issued by the schools. As a matter of fact, a paragraph on the title page of the reports makes it clear that the layman is not *supposed* to understand them. They are just to pique his curiosity, and he is urged to make an appointment with the teacher so that they may pick their way through the Vienna Woods hand in hand. This is as trying

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as it sounds. At the conclusion of the last conference I had, I was reduced to, "Well, can you at least tell me how he is doing in relation to the class norm?" The teacher looked at me as if he were Brillat-Savarin and I had just demanded *un peu de ketchup*. More in sorrow than seemed appropriate, he said, "I suppose you might call it 'A' work, although we feel that such distinctions tend to damage group rapport." Guilty and gratified, I left, wondering if children still walk home slowly on report-card days, calculating their chances of being given a dime, making up excuses, and avoiding the cracks in the sidewalk. I doubt if you still hear classics like "I got a 'C plus' from Horrible Harrison. What did you get?" I have yet to overhear one child asking another if he has "begun to stress co-operative and voluntary effort rather than domination and force."

THE FIRST five letters of the alphabet have been replaced by various typographical symbols on the new cards. A dash, for example, may mean "can do better." There's no symbol for excellence and no symbol for failure, but there are as many kinds of mediocrity as there are punctuation marks on the typewriter. Sorting out the symbols according to the keys at the bottom is rather like trying to find out from a railroad timetable which Saturday train has a dining car. These systems vary from school to school and town to town, but they are alike in their obscurity. Examining them is like looking at snowflakes—no two are exactly the same, but no two are very different, either.

I find it practically impossible to tell what my son is being taught in school from his report card. There is a category called "Retaining and using pertinent facts and information." Now I would like to conclude that if my child retains and uses pertinent facts and information, he must be good in history, but this may not be so at all. He may retain and use P.F.&I. only in the woodworking shop. For all I know, he could actually be at the bottom of the class in history.

"Respecting the opinions and work of others" may be an amiable trait, but it is difficult to see what it has to do with the quality of a child's academic achievement. It's quite possible to have a healthy respect for other people's opinions and work without being able to do long division or write a book report oneself. The converse is also true—some very gifted people are extremely impatient with the best efforts of their colleagues. Columbus, the Wright brothers, and Einstein were notoriously suspicious of the opinions they heard. I agree that this is not an endearing trait in a small child, but it can be a valuable one in an adult. Maybe we should think twice before we stamp it out altogether. How about an old-fashioned "A" for disagreeing nicely and in turn?

It's gratifying to have a child who "Is courteous to adults and his peers, and respects the property of others," but doesn't that old catch-all, "Deportment," really cover the field? Wouldn't it save a good deal of the teacher's time if she didn't have to split all those hairs? "Deportment" was a wonderful word. It told both the parent and the teacher everything they needed to know, and left lots of time to correct the arithmetic papers.

The new report cards include a grade for "Demands evidence before drawing conclusions." That could be a fine thing in a science class, or just plain contentious during a lesson in the multiplication tables. It's a moot characteristic, like "Contributes valuable information." Gratuitously? When asked? On demand? "Exhibits curiosity about our natural environment" is another area (one can hardly call it a subject) in which a grade is given. I have been trying since September to find out how the teacher sorts out the ones who do from the ones who don't. I've decided that if a child asks a lot of questions beginning with *why* or *how*, he's probably considered good in it. I still don't know if a qualitative factor enters into "Exhibits curiosity, etc.," but I have been assured that the class average is well above the national mean.

Even so straightforward a subject as reading has become tangled in jargon. Reading is now called "language arts," and is divided, like Gaul, into three parts. There is "Reads with reasonable speed,"

HALF PRICE

for a trial subscription that brings the world's foremost writers in every field into your home

RECENT CONTRIBUTORS INCLUDE:

John Ciardi
Agnes deMille
Peter Ustinov
Lewis Mumford
James Thurber
Judge Irving R. Kaufman
Sen. Joseph S. Clark
Walter Lippmann
Edith Sitwell
Dore Schary
John P. Marquand
Mark Van Doren
Alfred Knopf
Edward Crankshaw
Clarence B. Randall
Alfred Kazin
Ernest Hemingway
Leonard Bernstein
and many others

For a fraction of its regular price you can "discover" America's most distinctive magazine, presenting the world's best writers, greatest thinkers and doers! You can join the thousands of smart ATLANTIC readers who enjoy each month the best combination of news, fun, information and adult entertainment available anywhere. See for yourself how much genuine reading enjoyment is packed between the covers of each issue—by taking advantage of this spectacular half price offer: 8 issues at half the regular price!

(Usual subscription, $7.50 a year)

SEND NO MONEY
Mail this coupon today

THE ATLANTIC, Dept. Z-35
8 Arlington St., Boston 16, Mass.

Please enter my half-price trial subscription to THE ATLANTIC for 8 months and bill me for $2.50.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....Zone...State.....

☐ Remittance Enclosed. ☐ Bill me later

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books worth keeping

PUBLISHED BY UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA PRESS

THE ASSINIBOINES

By First Boy (James Larpenteur Long). Edited and with an introduction by Michael Stephen Kennedy. Legends and traditions of one of the largest buffalo-hunting tribes of North America—told by the oldest members of the tribe. *Civilization of the American Indian Series.* Illustrated. $5.00

THE MARCH OF THE MONTANA COLUMN

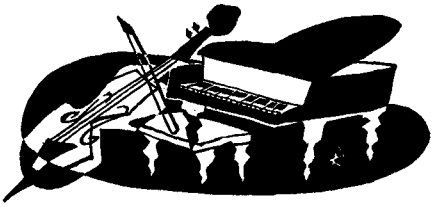
A Prelude to the Custer Disaster. By Lt. James H. Bradley. Edited by Edgar I. Stewart. The exciting personal journal of an officer in an infantry unit that narrowly escaped the terrible fate of Custer's Seventh Cavalry in the Sioux Campaign of 1876. *American Exploration and Travel Series.* Illustrated. $4.00

THE MUSICAL JOURNEYS OF LOUIS SPOHR

Translated and edited by Henry Pleasants. Spohr was a composer, a conductor, and one of the great violinists of his time. The diaries he kept of his travels throughout Europe provide an enlightening picture of musical life in the early 19th century. Illustrated. $3.95

Now at your bookstore
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA PRESS
Norman, Oklahoma

"Reads with comprehension," and "Uses various reading skills." Just what *are* "various reading skills?" One that occurs to me is the knack of turning the page of a newspaper so the whole thing doesn't blow around. I don't suppose they have that in the third grade, but you never can tell. When I have finished a bout with a modern report card, I feel as if I've had a course in Zen Buddhism. I know everything and I know nothing. «»



RECORD NOTES

Beethoven: Piano Sonatas in A Major, Op. 101; F Sharp Major, Op. 78; E Major, Op. 109; G Minor, Op. 49, No. 1. Andor Foldes, piano. (*Deutsche Grammophon; mono or stereo.*)

Andor Foldes is a forty-eight-year-old pianist of Hungarian birth who travels on an American passport but travels almost exclusively in Europe. Like many other American musicians, whether native-born or naturalized, he has found a lucrative career abroad and mainly neglect at home. This record of four Beethoven sonatas argues strongly for a reassessment of his current powers.

Though Foldes has always been one of the fleetest virtuosos in the business, his pyrotechnic feats were formerly purchased at the price of steely tone and unyielding line, excellent for Bartók and Prokofiev but not much else. The dexterity is still at his command, but it is now allied to a golden tone and relaxed, singing musical impulses. The attributes are perfect for late Beethoven. Here the Opus 101 Sonata, a marvelous and strangely undervalued work, is especially well done. Foldes manages to catch the note of tentative romantic reverie in the first movement without falling into overstatement, and in the Finale persuades us that fearsome contrapuntal complexities and incisive tempos need not preclude shimmering sound and transparent textures. The prewar Gieseking version of Opus 101 can now be retired. First-class performances of the other sonatas too.

Mozart: Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in C Major, K. 415. Clara Haskil, piano; Lucerne Festival Strings, Rudolf Baumgartner, cond. (*Deutsche Grammophon; mono or stereo.*)

Aside from the fact that this is the first satisfactory LP version of the K. 415 Concerto, the issue would be worthy of mention as a fine memento of the late Clara Haskil, truly a musicians' musician who was able to establish a cogent musical point without undue exhortation. The purity and unruffled serenity of her playing are engagingly displayed in this early Mozart concerto. Baumgartner is a sympathetic partner, the orchestra is properly small-scaled, and the stereo acoustics are neither too bright nor too resonant. The reverse side contains splendid performances of the F major Sonata, K. 280, and the Variations on "Ah vous dirais-je, Maman."

Rimsky-Korsakov: Tsar Saltan. Singers, chorus, and orchestra of the Bolshoi Theatre, Vassily Nebolsin, cond. (*Artia, 3 records; mono only.*)

Although Rimsky-Korsakov has become unfashionable in America and Western Europe, the Russians continue to perform his operas with obvious enthusiasm. This set results from a 1959 production of *Tsar Saltan* at the Bolshoi Theatre, and it turns out to be a thorough delight on all counts.

The opera, which dates from 1899, is based on verses by Pushkin and is concerned not so much with Tsar Saltan as with his son, Prince Gvidon, who is shipwrecked on a magic island called Buyan and there meets up with a variety of fantastic adventures. Rimsky is always at his best in depicting Never-Never Land; you can almost feel his pulse quicken and his inspiration soar as soon as the action moves from prosaic Russia to fairy-tale Buyan and its world of exotic enchantment. Long orchestral interludes set the scenes and delineate the plot (one of them is the well-known "Flight of the Bumblebee"), and each provides a splendid example of Rimsky's talent for scintillant instrumentation. Young Stra-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vinsky, who began his studies with Rimsky-Korsakov soon after the première of *Tsar Saltan,* learned his lessons well. The expansive tremolando effect that Rimsky introduces immediately after the entrance of the bumblebee in Act III, Scene 2, will bring a shock of recognition to anyone who knows the opening of the fourth tableau in *Petrouchka.*

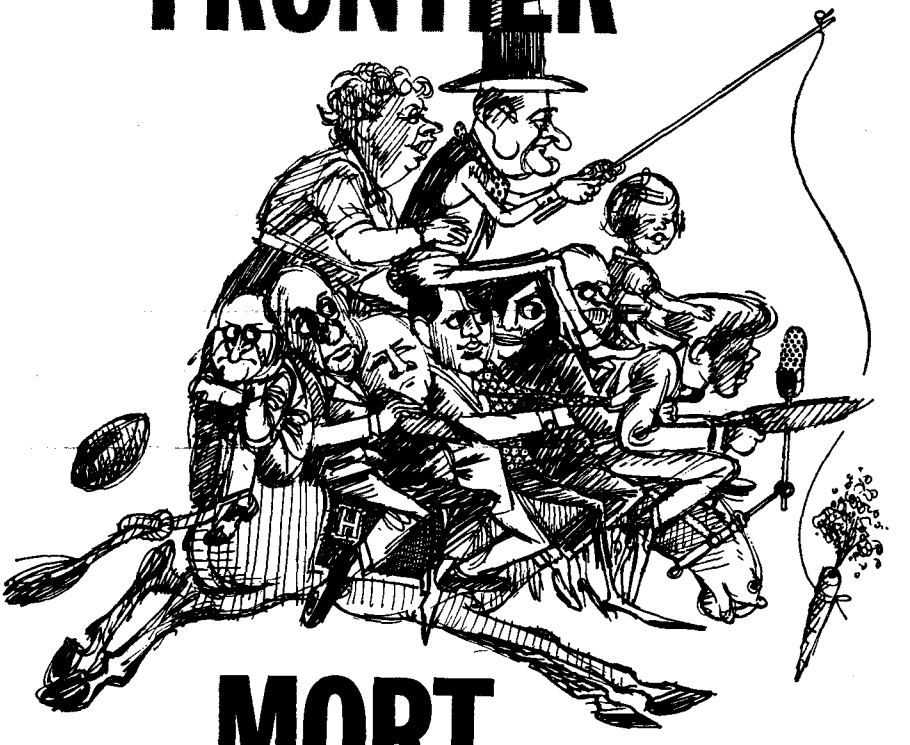
The performance is compelling (what a fine orchestra and chorus the Bolshoi has!), the recorded sound at least acceptable. Artia has imported the set as originally produced for Russian consumption—even down to the sturdy, velvet-covered box—and has added a helpful sheet of synopsis and commentary in English.

VERDI: LA TRAVIATA. Anna Moffo, Richard Tucker, Robert Merrill, *et al.*; Chorus and Orchestra of the Rome Opera, Fernando Previtali, cond. (*RCA Victor, 3 records; mono or stereo.*)

Rudolf Bing, who is currently in dire need of some first-rate conductors at the Metropolitan, could profitably heed this new recording. One seldom hears at Broadway and Thirty-Ninth Street these days a performance of Verdi as distinguished in direction as the one that Fernando Previtali has led for RCA Victor's microphones. The beat is firm, the attacks crisp, the phrasing supple, the sense of line well sustained. This is the best-conducted *Traviata* on records since Toscanini's, and it has the great advantage of well-dispersed stereo sound, which falls far more gratifyingly on the ear than the cramped acoustics of the 1947 Studio 8H broadcast.

Happily, Previtali's worthy conducting is accompanied by some excellent singing, particularly the Violetta of Anna Moffo, which is precise in execution, velvety in tone, and appropriately wistful and fragile in characterization. Richard Tucker's habit of launching a phrase with explosive propulsion is not always ideal for Alfredo's delicate music, but tenors of his vocal abundance and innate musicality are so rare today that minor stylistic trespasses can be overlooked. Merrill's Germont—less bluff and awkward than in the Toscanini set, and just as caressingly sung—is as good as any on records. In sum, a highly recommendable *Traviata.* —ROLAND GELATT

THE NEW FRONTIER



MORT SAHL

NOW EXCLUSIVELY ON reprise records

TO PLAY AND PLAY AGAIN

For fast delivery

Be sure to zone all mail

"THERE ARE TO BE *investigations of the Cuban fiasco. Robert Kennedy will ask someone to ask someone why someone didn't give someone the right information. Someone may even get fired (though not fired at) and in the end, Robert Kennedy will report to John Kennedy that,* mutatis mutandis, mutanda mutata: *Perhaps Harvard will even add to the graduate curriculum a course or two on Invasions, Amphibious to fill in the little lacunae in the expertise of future Harvard Administrations.*"

From the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. Write to Dept. P-7, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N. Y., for free copy.

HARRY and BONARO Overstreet reveal what you and every other American urgently need to know about The War Called Peace KHRUSHCHEV'S COMMUNISM

"RECOMMENDED, well-documented, coolly written." —Book-of-the-Month Club News

By the authors of WHAT WE SHOULD KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM

$4.50 NORTON

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Before we make any more mistakes concerning Cuba—

read

90 miles from home

By Warren Miller

Wouldn't *you* like to know what things are *really* like in Cuba today? Warren Miller has just returned – and in this new book he lets the people in Cuba tell *what it is like to be a Cuban in Cuba today.* Here are the answers of Cuban artists, writers, workers, businessmen – both for and against the Castro regime – answers that show clearly why the invasion of Cuba *had* to fail! Learn the truth behind the oratory, the headlines, the jumbled dispatches *now* – before it is too late.

$3.95 at all bookstores

LITTLE, BROWN

The real Gandhi behind the public image

MR. GANDHI

by Ranjee Shahani

The human side of a man who inspired almost divine reverence throughout the world emerges clearly in this revealing portrait of India's greatest leader. The warmly personal story of a gawky young man who abandoned a career in the law to devote his life to serving his people, it is at the same time a study in the paradox of greatness — of the simple, timid man who forged India's strongest weapon for independence, passive resistance. $4.95

The Macmillan Company
60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

BOOKS

Contempt Is a Poor Critic

WAYNE ANDREWS

CALIFORNIA'S ARCHITECTURAL FRONTIER: STYLE AND TRADITION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, by Harold Kirker. *Huntington Library. $7.50.*

THE ARCHITECTURE OF AMERICA: A SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY, by John Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown. *Little, Brown. $15.*

LE CORBUSIER, edited by W. Bosinger. *Wittenborn. $15.*

AFFONSO EDUARDO REIDY, by Klaus Franck. *Praeger. $11.50.*

RICHARD NEUTRA, by Esther McCoy. *Braziller. $4.95.*

AN OUTLINE OF EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE: JUBILEE EDITION, by Nikolaus Pevsner. *Penguin. $30.*

Many years ago, in *The Architecture of Humanism,* the late Geoffrey Scott expressed his distrust of the gentlemen who lay down laws of architectural taste. Such laws, he admitted, "greatly simplify the subject . . . but they fail to explain why the styles of architecture which they find necessary to condemn have in fact been created and admired. Fashion subsequently betrays these faultless arguments; for whatever has once genuinely pleased is likely to be again found pleasing; art and the enjoyment of art continue in the condemned paths undismayed." In other words, we must not be surprised if our grandchildren become ecstatic over buildings we have been taught to despise.

In Harold Kirker's *California's Architectural Frontier,* there is solid scholarship without a trace of pomposity. Although Mr. Kirker demolishes one myth after another in his chronicle of the men who came before Maybeck and Greene & Greene, he documents every challenge. He proves, for example, that the Monterey "colonial" houses were neither Spanish nor Mexican, but merely the evidence of American domination of a once-Spanish area.

Such matters are of great interest to specialists in architectural history, but the real reward of *California's Architectural Frontier* comes when the author is confronted with the angry castles of the nineteenth-century businessmen. Far from being frightened by the furious woodwork of the Carson mansion in Eureka, he finds it "both wondrous and exotic, a monument to a restless and troubled age that refused to countenance a plain surface, a continuous line or a uniform material." Mr. Kirker is well aware that an earnest effort to improve the taste of our grandfathers has no place in a book fit for our grandchildren's hands.

This is a lesson that has not been learned by John Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown, the authors of *The Architecture of America,* which seems to be a history of American architecture dedicated to the proposition that there was nothing worth while in the United States before Richardson and Louis Sullivan. Although their text was sponsored by the American Institute of Architects, neither author seems much impressed by the achievements of the founders of that august organization.

Take Richard Upjohn, for instance, the architect of Trinity Church, New York. He was the first president of the A.I.A., and you might suppose that he would be given a chance. Not at all. Trinity, according to the Messrs. Burchard and Bush-Brown, is a contemptible boxlike structure "lacking the depth and plasticity of true Gothic. Its plaster vaults and ribs mark a heavy geometry that depresses a space which refuses to be shaped by the wide nave and boxed-in side aisles." Perhaps. There are those who feel differently. But is it really fair to accuse Upjohn of designing the capitol at Hartford "in his dotage"? This building, to keep the record straight, was planned by Richard Michell Upjohn, the son of the architect of Trinity, and he began the work at forty-four.

Stanford White, who once enjoyed a certain reputation as a designer, is another figure who has a hard time at the hands of the Messrs. Burchard and Bush-Brown. "He was

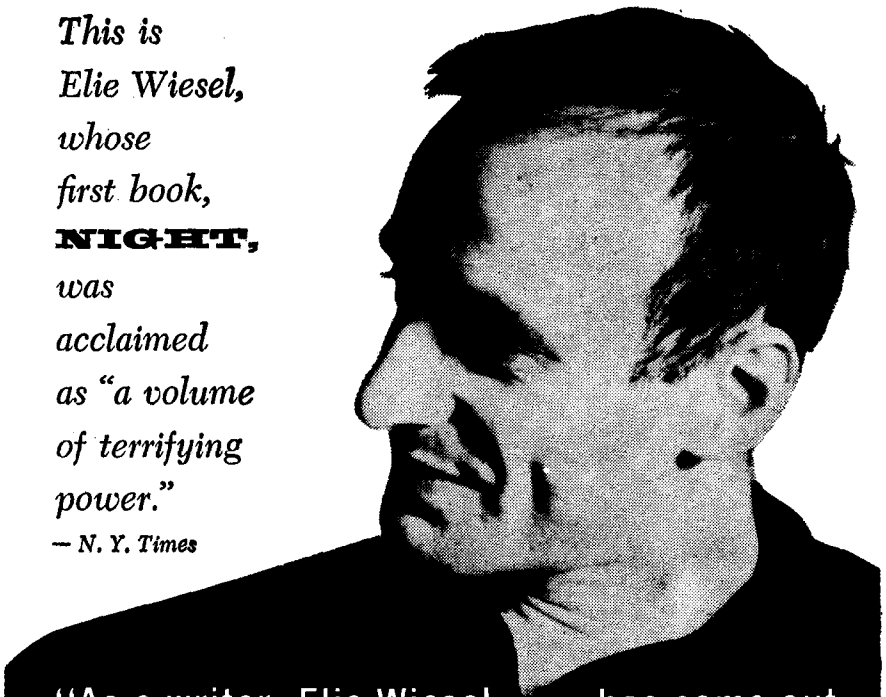
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not noticeably in the headlines of the reform movement when Tammany was ousted," we are told. Worse yet, "He was not listed as present at the opening of the Henry Street Settlement in 1893." But White is in good company: Thomas Jefferson is sternly reprimanded for copying temple fronts at the University of Virginia.

Since any designer—as distinguished from a historian—may be driven to the act of creation by what he conceives to be the dullness of the world he was born in, you might expect that Le Corbusier would be guilty of the moral indignation that characterizes so many pages of *The Architecture of America*. But this is not the case. The planner of the Ronchamp Chapel has a sense of humor; he even has a weakness for the Gothic elevator doors of the Trinity Building next door to Trinity Church. What is much more remarkable, Le Corbusier is frank to admit that he has grown sick and tired of the connotation given his slogan that a house must be a *"machine à habiter."* "Functionalism," he tells us in *Le Corbusier 1910-60*, "is a horrid word, contrived beneath other skies than those we love to wander under." Unlike Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius, he is apparently bored by the reputation he won as a rationalist in the 1920's. The sculpturesque forms atop his Marseilles apartment house of 1952 proved that he could provide better than merely logical solutions to the problems of the postwar world. Now that his new irrationality lends added excitement to our enjoyment of the logical achievements of his youth, this handsome monograph—an abridgment of the six-volume standard work on his career—is doubly welcome.

Few of Le Corbusier's followers have had the daring to follow him from Marseilles to Ronchamp and beyond. Klaus Franck's monograph *Affonso Eduardo Reidy* chronicles the commissions of a rather timid admirer. "His buildings are almost forbidding," Siegfried Giedion concludes in his somewhat mournful introduction. "They must be conquered." Whether the buildings of this Brazilian will be "conquered" by many Americans remains to be seen. Disdainful of their surround-

This is Elie Wiesel, whose first book, **NIGHT,** *was acclaimed as "a volume of terrifying power."*
— *N. Y. Times*



"As a writer, Elie Wiesel has come out of the extreme suffering of our time, but he has nobly and dramatically rejected its extreme solutions. For me, he is an incarnation in literature of the necessary conscience of our time."
—ALFRED KAZIN

ELIE WIESEL'S FIRST NOVEL, **DAWN**

is the story of an eighteen-year-old Israeli freedom fighter in Palestine, ordered to shoot a captured British officer in reprisal for the execution of a Jewish prisoner. The harrowing night of waiting, the climax when he finds pity in the eyes of the man he must kill, are portrayed with insight, simplicity, and extraordinary power. Translated from the French by Frances Frenaye. $3.00

BERNARD SHAW *at his best in*

HOW TO BECOME A MUSICAL CRITIC

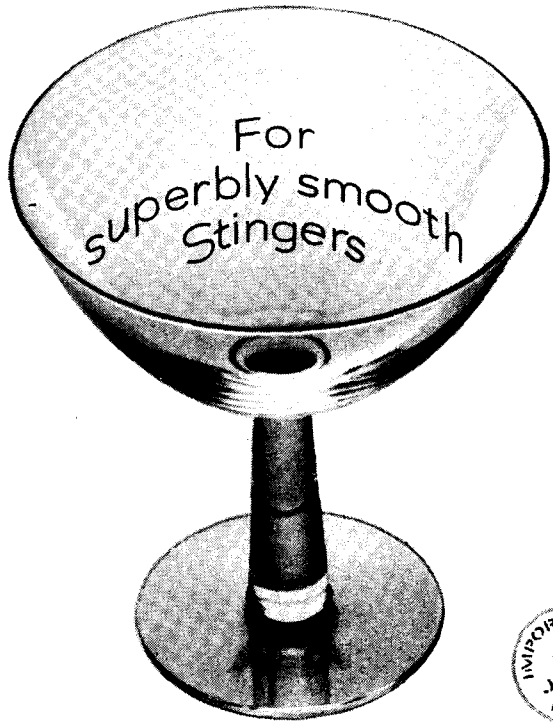
Previously uncollected essays and articles, edited by Dan H. Laurence. "A thousand felicities, whimsies, quips, rapier thrusts, and gracious turns of phrase clamor to be transcribed . . . Go to the book itself and see how good it is."—ALFRED FRANKENSTEIN, *N. Y. Times Book Review* $5.00

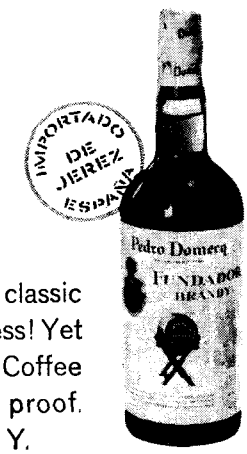
STANISLAVSKY ON THE ART OF THE STAGE

The first American edition of Stanislavsky's famous lectures for the Moscow Opera Company, *System and Method of Creative Art*, translated by David Magarshack, with a brilliant introductory analysis of Stanislavsky's theory of acting. Illustrated. $4.50

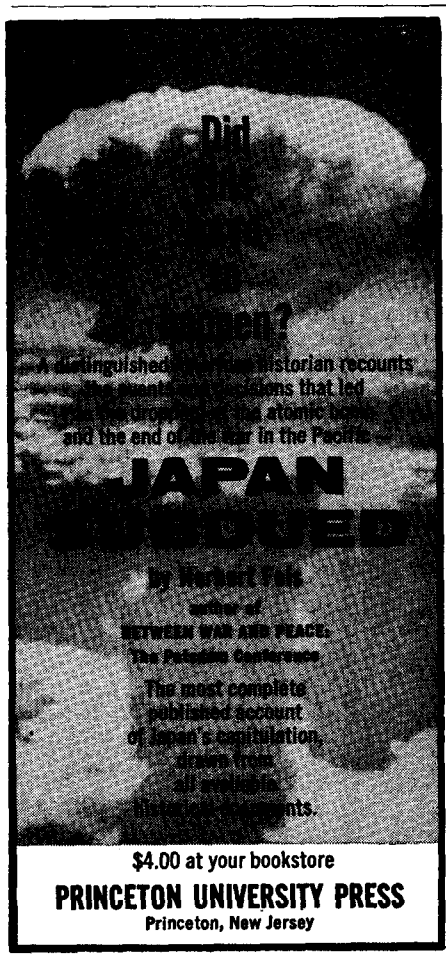
At your bookstore **HILL & WANG, INC.**
141 Fifth Avenue New York 10, N. Y.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED





Favor yourself with **Fundador** the classic brandy of Spain. What full-bodied flavor, what richness! Yet incomparably smooth, in a cordial, a cocktail, or a Coffee Royale. **Pedro Domecq** Spanish Brandies, 86 proof. Imported by Canada Dry Corporation, New York, N. Y.



Solution to

THE REPORTER

Puzzle #32

P	R	I	G	S		G	O	V	E	R	N	O	R	S
L		N		D		H		E				P		P
A	L	B	E	R	T	A		N		I	S	S	U	E
N		O		T	A	N	K	A	R	D		O		C
N	O	U	N		M	A	I	L		E	N	N	U	I
E	R	N	E		A		P			A		I		E
D	A	D	A		R	E	P	E	L	L	A	N	T	S
	T		R				E				B		Y	
N	E	W	S	H	E	A	R	E	D		E	E	L	S
E		A		E			I		I		T	R	E	T
M	A	P	L	E		S	N	E	G		S	O	R	A
O		I		P	U	N	G	E	N	T		T		I
R	A	T	E	S		A		R	E	A	L	I	G	N
A		I				F		I		M		C		E
L	A	S	S	I	T	U	D	E		S	W	A	N	S

Acrostician—

SOAPY WILLIAMS

ings, their bleak façades might have risen in Pittsburgh as easily as in Rio, and many readers may fail to see the signs of the new "regionalism" preached by Giedion in his preface.

Esther McCoy, the author of *Richard Neutra,* makes no extravagant claims for the distinguished California architect. "He has always treated the building itself as separate from nature," she concedes, which is one way of saying that we are far from Frank Lloyd Wright, who insisted so often that building and site were meant to be one. World-famous for the impersonal elegance of his work with steel and concrete, Neutra deserves to be better known for his occasional ventures into frame construction, and Miss McCoy, in her admirable survey, acquaints us with such startling feats in wood as the Nesbitt house and the Channel Heights housing development.

So much for Le Corbusier, Reidy, and Neutra, as seen in their own eyes and in the eyes of their contemporaries. If we wish to imagine how they may seem to the ages, there is no better way to begin than to open the pages of Nikolaus Pevsner's *An Outline of European Architecture: Jubilee Edition.* This sketch of the greatest monuments of western civilization is as wise as it is entertaining. "Is not supreme splendor due the King of Kings?" Dr. Pevsner asks at the opening of his chapter on the South German Baroque. He is never embarrassed by the grandeurs he evokes, nor will he scold a peer for failing to think of the servant problem. "It seems," he says, while discussing Blenheim Palace, "rather cheap to harp on the fact that kitchen and service rooms are far away from the dining-rooms . . . Vanbrugh and his clients would have called such arguments extremely low. Of servants they had plenty."

Dr. Pevsner's classic must be the most beautifully illustrated architectural book since photography was invented. But luxury without concern is a dull thing, as Dr. Pevsner is well aware. He ends on an anxious note. "As the client ceases to be a man and becomes a committee, so the architect is on the way from being a man to being a partnership or firm." What is this but an invitation to trade excellence for competence?

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From Versailles To Vientiane

GEORGE STEINER

RUSSIA AND THE WEST UNDER LENIN AND STALIN, by George Kennan. *Little, Brown. $5.75.*

One idea dominates George Kennan's eloquent study of the relations between the Soviet Union and the major western countries from 1917 to the close of the Second World War. He states it time and again: "Let us not repeat the mistake of believing that either good or evil is total. Let us beware, in future, of wholly condemning an entire people and wholly exculpating others. Let us remember that the great moral issues, on which civilization is going to stand or fall, cut across all military and ideological borders, across peoples, classes, and régimes—across, in fact, the make-up of the human individual himself. No other people, as a whole, is entirely our enemy. No people at all—not even ourselves—is entirely our friend."

Mr. Kennan holds the First World War "to have been *the* great catastrophe of Western civilization in the present century." He believes that the refusal of the Allied powers to negotiate peace in the autumn of 1917, as Lord Lansdowne urged them to do, laid the foundations for subsequent ruin. That refusal stemmed from two ideas, both of which Mr. Kennan regards as perilous delusions: the doctrine of paramount German war guilt, and the belief in the possibility or usefulness of complete military victory.

"The Russian Revolution and the alienation of the Russian people from the Western community for decades to come were only a part of the staggering price paid by the Western people for their insistence on completing a military victory over Germany in 1917 and 1918." Misunderstanding the uses and effects of modern war, Kennan argues, the western community in forty years declined from its ancient place at the hub of power to its present precarious position in a world environ-

Favor yourself with **Fundador** the classic brandy from Spain. Mellow, rich in flavor, full-bodied. Yet incomparably smooth. For two centuries, the world's most favored Spanish brandy. Pedro Domecq Spanish Brandies, 86 proof. Imported by Canada Dry Corporation, New York.

PARTISAN REVIEW

America's leading literary review
Now bi-monthly

Special *double* issue coming May/June 1961

DISSONANT VOICES IN SOVIET LITERATURE

devoted to a stimulating selection of Russian Literature *never before available in English.*
$1.25 at all newsstands and book stores

Bonus to *Reporter* readers:
Subscribe now and receive free Dwight Macdonald's controversial pamphlet "Masscult and Midcult," regular price 95¢

Partisan Review. 22 East 17th St., N.Y.C. 3

Please enter my subscription for

☐ 1 year @$5.50

☐ 2 years @$9.00 (a saving of $2.00)
add 75¢ per year for foreign subscriptions

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____

☐ Check enclosed ☐ Please bill me R

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Paton at his best"

—SAUNDERS REDDING, *N. Y. Herald Tribune*

TALES FROM A TROUBLED LAND

by Alan Paton

"The art of these stories transcends all time and all place." —DAY THORPE, *Washington Star*

$3.50 at all bookstores

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

This man

- sacrificed his freedom and left the woman he loved to help others escape Communist Roumania
- endured 4 years of torture and brainwashing
- lived for 3 years within inches of recapture. Friends believed him dead

Now he tells his own story, a story of almost unbearable suspense.

"There is something unbribable in the human spirit," writes Salvador de Madariaga in his Foreword, and these words will echo in the reader's mind as he finishes this incredible tale.

THE LOST FOOTSTEPS

By SILVIU CRACIUNAS

$4.75, now at your bookstore

FARRAR, STRAUS & CUDAHY

HUMANISM — THE UNIFYING MOVEMENT FOR FREE MINDS!

Ethical, humanitarian; based on natural and social sciences; nonpolitical, nonsupernatural. *Interested?* AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION welcomes you; local chapters, publications. Send $1 for 3 month trial membership, or $5 for year, to:

AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION
Dept. R Yellow Springs, Ohio

ment "so largely beyond its moral and political influence." The cold war of today began in the illusions and vindictiveness of Versailles.

Kennan holds that the absence of both Germany and Russia doomed the Versailles settlement from the start. Behind the diverse approaches of the victorious Allied powers to the new Soviet régime lay a compound of ignorance, shallow cunning, and baffled idealism. Specifically, Kennan demonstrates how futile were Allied attempts to prod the Bolsheviks into renewal of war against Germany.

Out of these attempts, and out of the legitimate fear of the western powers that vast military supplies delivered at Archangel and Vladivostok would fall into German hands, grew the pathetic adventure of Anglo-American intervention on Russian soil. Though the landings in northern Russia and Siberia were ill conceived and poorly executed, they caused lasting psychological damage.

Mr. Kennan is convinced that no concerted design for counter-revolution ever existed: "Never did the intervention occupy anything like a central place in Allied purposes. Measured against the other preoccupations of the Western governments at this time, these expeditions were little sideshows of policy, complicated and obscure in origin, conducted absent-mindedly, and embracing in their motivations many considerations having nothing to do with a desire to overthrow Soviet power for ideological reasons."

Kennan uses the failure of intervention and of the Versailles Conference to press home another point close to his heart, the characteristic limitations of summit diplomacy. The passage is eloquent with present meaning: "One sees the senior statesmen harried, pressed, groaning under the spotlight of publicity, under the limitations of physical and nervous strength . . . flitting from problem to problem . . . touching each one briefly and sporadically. . . . And one sees how inadequate this is for a task—namely, the task of diplomacy—which is really one of style, of perseverance, and of ceaseless vigilance."

President Wilson's nervous headache prevented him from seeing William Bullitt, who was bringing direct word from Lenin. Lloyd George had his own reasons for not wishing to hear what the Bolsheviks were proposing. As Kennan reads it, the lesson is plain: great men have no time for small but vital truths.

This and subsequent failures of communication prevented the western nations from arriving at a clear understanding of the issue between themselves and the Soviet Union. That issue "has never been, and is not today, the right of the Russian people to have a socialistic ordering of society if they so wish; the issue is how a government which happens to be socialistic is going to behave in relation to its world environment." Only very gradually and to their mounting cost, according to Kennan, did western governments understand the essential duality of all Soviet foreign relations.

At all times, Soviet policy pursues two aims: coexistence—the claim to the right to have normal outward relations with capitalist countries and to derive from these relations commercial or strategic benefits—and a simultaneous effort to destroy western régimes and the society on which they are founded. This built-in ambiguity or, if one prefers, axiomatic treacherousness governed Soviet diplomacy from Rapallo in 1922 to Yalta in 1945 and continues today.

In retelling the sinister yet comic story of the Soviet coup at Rapallo, Kennan summarizes the standard components for a rousing Soviet diplomatic success: "one part Soviet resourcefulness and singlemindedness of purpose; two parts amateurism, complacency, and disunity on the part of the West." This unfortunate combination accounts for what Mr. Kennan regards as the inevitable prelude to the Second World War—Stalin's role in the collapse of German democracy and in the initial successes of Hitler.

In what will no doubt be the most controversial part of his argument, Kennan contends that the Weimar Republic had real chances of stability and that it represented, far more than the Spanish Republic, the values and future of western democracy. "The things people thought they were fighting for in Spain" had perished at Weimar. In that collapse the Soviet Union played an obscure but crucial part. By aiding the Nazis to destroy the liberal Center, by re-

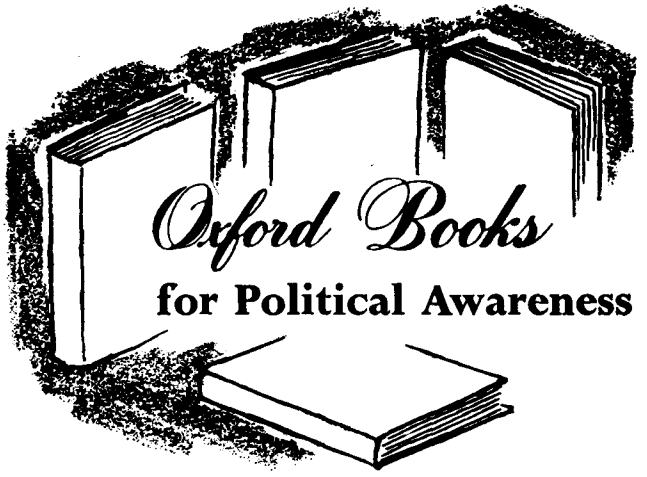
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fusing to help Socialists and moderates, the German Communist Party, acting under direct Soviet orders, hastened its own doom and that of Germany. Less than a fortnight before Hitler's assumption of the chancellorship, a secretary of the Soviet embassy in Berlin stated, "The road to Soviet Germany lay through Hitler." Over the very long range he was partially right, but along the road toward that bitter goal lie more than twenty million dead Russians.

The mixture of miscalculation, ferocious cunning, and sheer indifference in Soviet policy toward Hitler leads Kennan to inquire into the personal traits of Stalin. Here again, his treatment will raise controversy. He believes that by the time of the grim internal crises of 1932, there was in Stalin a definite streak of madness and blood lust. He contends that Stalin killed his young wife or drove her to suicide; that he inspired the murder of his potential rival, Sergei M. Kirov, in 1934; that he himself was responsible for the death in successive purges of 1,108 out of a total 1,966 members of the Party Congress. He sees in these actions the murderous effect of "real mental disturbance" and suggested that the fluctuations of Soviet policy toward the Nazis and the refusal of Stalin to prepare for imminent German attack in 1941 can in part be traced to the same source.

This view impels Kennan to argue that the fantastic successes of Soviet policy at the close of the Second World War had behind them neither a long-range plan nor Machiavellian foresight, but that they arose from western indecision and from the naked impulse of military advantage. Stalin entered the war against Japan at our insistence and because we had fatally underestimated the strength of our own position; he absorbed Eastern Europe because neither Churchill nor Roosevelt was ready to state from the outset that an autonomous Poland and the integrity of German territory were paramount war aims.

The tragic error of 1917 was reenacted on an even larger scale: the division of Europe and the Soviet advance into Asia grew directly from the Anglo-Saxon tendency "to view any war in which we might be in-



Oxford Books

for Political Awareness

Reconsiderations
A Study of History, Volume XII

By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

Comments, favorable and unfavorable, on *A Study of History* have appeared ever since the first three volumes were published in 1934. Now Mr. Toynbee looks back at a number of the questions he raised and reconsiders them in the light of what some of his critics have said. He also takes into account recent archaeological discoveries. $10.00

The Crossroads of Liberalism
Croly, Weyl, Lippmann, and the Progressive Era, 1900-1925

By CHARLES FORCEY

This brilliant study examines one of the major turning points in American political thought: the rise of a new attitude toward society among American reformers, and the bitter clash of the "new liberalism" with the "old." $7.00

The French Radical Party from Herriot to Mendes-France

By FRANCIS DE TARR

A well-written study of the French Radical Party from the Liberation to the fall of the Fourth Republic. Done with ". . . learning, acuteness and an admirable sense of the ludicrous." — DENNIS BROGAN in *The Spectator*. Foreword by Pierre Mendes-France. $5.60

Federalism and Economic Growth in Underdeveloped Countries

A Symposium by U. K. HICKS, F. G. CARNELL, J. R. HICKS, W. T. NEWLYN and A. H. BIRCH

Based on the proceedings of a small working party conference held at Exeter, England in September, 1959, this book considers critically the experiences of emergent countries pursuing an ambitious policy of economic development within a federal framework of government. $4.00

At all bookstores

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS New York 16

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FORGOTTEN

Leota Sundust is one of our forgotten American Indians. She is of the Apache Tribe. Her father died last year of TB. Leota's mother, who does not speak English, works as a cleaning woman. Her meager earnings provide for little more than food and a squalid room for Leota and her two brothers. The children's clothing is worn and patched. Leota's mother yearns for her children to get an education that will prepare them to earn a decent living. She wants them to enjoy a richer, happier life than her own.

PERSON-TO-PERSON HELP

Through Save the Children Federation, *you, your group, your school* can give person-to-person help to a needy boy or girl of the Papago, Pima, Pueblo, Apache, Navajo or Colorado River Tribes. Your monthly contribution of $10.00 will enable an Indian child, who attends a public school off the reservation, to have the suitable clothing, personal books, school supplies and cash allowance for school activities needed to give him the opportunity to join the mainstream of American life. It will boost the morale of the whole family—will give an Indian youngster an even break. You will receive the photograph and history of the child you help and the child will correspond with you. Please open your heart to an American Indian child and give him assistance, friendship and inspiration.

SCF NATIONAL SPONSORS INCLUDE:
MRS. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
NORMAN ROCKWELL
MRS. SPENCER TRACY
SPYROS SKOURAS

Serving Children for 29 Years
SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION
Boston Post Road, Norwalk, Connecticut

I wish to contribute $120.00 annually for assistance to an American Indian ☐ girl ☐ boy. I enclose my check for $_____ and will continue to pay:
$10 a month ☐ $30 a quarter ☐
$60 semi-annually ☐ $120 annually ☐
I cannot sponsor a child but enclosed is my contribution of $_____

Name_____
Address_____
City_____ Zone____ State_____
Contributions are income tax deductible. RE 5-25-1

volved not as a means of achieving limited objectives in the way of changes in a given *status quo* but as a struggle to the death between total virtue and total evil, with the result that the war had absolutely to be fought to the complete destruction of the enemy's power, no matter what disadvantages or complications this might involve."

Supported by unusual experience in Soviet affairs and the style of an eminent historian, Kennan's account carries great authority. Yet on a number of points one cannot but question his judgment. The thesis that Germany was too severely defeated in 1918 can be countered by the no less cogent thesis that she was not defeated sufficiently. German historians themselves have pointed out that the failure of the Allies to impose on the Germans a realization of military defeat led directly to the myth of "the stab in the back" and to the swift resurgence of militarism. Similarly, Mr. Kennan fails to underline the massive extent of western economic aid to Weimar Germany, and he grossly overestimates the strength or idealism of internal opposition to Hitler in 1944. To imply that Roosevelt and Churchill could have made a negotiated peace with some German military régime set up after a coup against Hitler is to misunderstand the structure of Hitlerite Germany and the condition of occupied Europe. Kennan also ignores the evidence that shows how deeply pro-Nazi a great mass of Austrians were at the time of the *Anschluss*.

Moreover, Kennan, who himself pleads for diplomacy divorced from moralistic bias, lets that bias in by the historian's back door. He suggests repeatedly that Soviet actions stem from "the philosophy of those who do not recognize the existence of the soul," and that the "mathematics of a materialist ideology" implies total disregard for human cost. That way lies obscurantism and despair. More impressive is his reminder of the reality which the atomic bomb is bringing home to us: "that there must be a certain relativism about enmity, as I suppose there must be about friendship—that we must learn to recognize a certain duality in our relationship to all the rest of mankind, even those who hate us most."

Second Home

ELIZABETH BOWEN

THE CHATEAU, by William Maxwell. *Knopf. $4.95.*

A novel need not be a love story, but is the better for being one. William Maxwell's *The Château* is, outwardly, a tale of two people, young Americans, married, spending a time in France; inwardly, there is a passion which spins the plot. From the first page, we are company with a man in a state of love; with his wife, yes, but also there is a focus upon a whole, fresh, other, enormous object. Harold Rhodes is in love with France—the tension, the heightened susceptibility, the joyous disturbance and the sensation of being weighed upon from time to time are, as symptoms, quite unmistakable. This, his first visit, is the fulfillment of long desire, gathered-up expectation. And more: at the moment he saw the coastline at dawn through his cabin porthole, some anonymous ancestor woke within him; the tears forming a prism over his eyes were those of a homecomer, awaited.

The big ocean liner is at last at anchor. "The sea was calm, the lens of the sky was set at infinity. The coastline—low green hills and the dim outlines of stone houses lying in pockets of mist—was in three pale French colors, a brocade borrowed from a museum. . . . There it was, across the open water, a fact, in plain sight, a real place, a part of him because he could say he had seen it. . . . He put his head clear out into the beautiful morning and smelled land. His lungs expanding took in the air of creation, of the beginning of everything."

Only a master novelist could be so bold as to open at this high pitch, then so wise as to not attempt to sustain it—though at points in *The Château* it is to be reached again. Harold Rhodes's early vision off Cherbourg is succeeded by the fuss and banalities of disembarkation, followed upon by the dulling fatigues of a day-long train journey, dislocated by changes, no porters, much baggage. The month is July, the year 1948: France is still in

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

disarray after war, scarred physically by the assaults of Allied invasion, psychologically by enemy occupation. Harold and Barbara, spearhead of the returning tourists, find themselves welcome but not prepared for. Ardent travelers are subject to tragicomedies; these two, to whom all things matter acutely, are overhung by a quiver of anxiety, brought to a halt often, sometimes dumbfounded. They turn on street scenes and ruins, on faces, on towns, on the coast of Brittany, and then on the Loire country, their joint, searching, unfaltering gaze.

Love acts twice over in *The Château.* That is to say, the impact of everything felt or beheld, suspected or wondered at, is doubled by the alikeness and nearness to one another, at times almost the identity, of husband and wife. This is most so when they arrive at the Touraine château which not only names the novel but stages some of its most formidable, though muted, scenes. It has been arranged that the Rhodeses stay here for a fortnight, as paying guests of an indigent aristocratic family. From the meeting with Mme. Viénot, their cryptic, wary hostess-to-be, in the château courtyard, the young Americans enter a formal, deeply mysterious social zone—near-arctic, at least at first. Outdoors, a rainy July; indoors, decrepit economy and chill salons. The spellbinding monotony of the château, the masks of its inmates, transient or hereditary, portrayed in a mood of ironic comedy, combine to build up a maximum suspense interest exceeding that of the so-called mystery novel. The outgoing friendliness of the visitors, linked with a fervent innocent curiosity, is often rebuffed, yet their illusion survives.

Cannot people know each other? *Are* language, custom, and background inevitable dividers? The questions follow the Rhodeses to Paris, needling them most of all during their days encamped in the apartment of Mme. Viénot's nephew. Paris itself is loud with sparrows, dusky with the dusty leafage of summer, emptying as July runs out.

I can think of few novels, of my day certainly, that have such romantic authority as *The Château,* fewer still so adult in vitality, so alight with humor.

A monumental four-volume exploration of the religious dimensions of American life

RELIGION IN AMERICAN LIFE

Edited by James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison

H. Richard Niebuhr, Oscar Handlin, Will Herberg, Willard Thorp, Jacob Viner, Nelson R. Burr, and William Lee Miller are among the twenty-two distinguished scholars contributing to this study on religion in American history, philosophy, politics, literature, art, and music. *Religion in American Life* will probably be considered the most important study of religion in America to be published in the twentieth century.

Volume I. **THE SHAPING OF AMERICAN RELIGION** A survey of the institutional structure of the four main segments of American religion and of the course of American religious thought. $8.50

Volume II. **RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVES IN AMERICAN CULTURE** The special problems concerning the role of religion in the social, political, cultural life of the nation. $7.50

Volume III. **RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND ECONOMIC SOCIETY: The European Background** *By Jacob Viner.* An intellectual history of the economic aspects of Christian theology from the Fathers to modern times, with particular reference to the treatment by theologians of such topics as private property, riches and poverty, commerce, and the general criteria for ethical appraisal. *Coming this fall.* $6.00

Volume IV. **A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RELIGION IN AMERICA** *By Nelson R. Burr.* A critical and descriptive bibliography of religion in American life that is unequaled in any other source. *Bound in two volumes.* $17.50

The complete series $32.50

Please order through your local bookseller

Princeton UNIVERSITY PRESS
Princeton, New Jersey

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New! Stimulating! Exciting!

The Great Quotations

Compiled by George Seldes

Brilliant thoughts and ideas to help you become a more interesting person . . . a better speaker . . . a well-rounded human being.

THE GREAT QUOTATIONS is a permanent treasure for your library!

J. Donald Adams of the *New York Times* in his introduction describes THE GREAT QUOTATIONS as "a collection of man's best thinking."

This collection of thousands upon thousands of UNfamiliar quotations (98% do not appear in any other quotation anthology) will help you in your thinking, your speaking and your daily living. It packs, in its more than 900 pages, the wit and wisdom of the ages.

Saturday Review says: "Only in THE GREAT QUOTATIONS could you find this statement by Henry Morgan (b. 1915, American comedian): 'Any man with ambition, integrity—and $10,000,000—can start a daily newspaper.' And this one by Frank Lloyd Wright: 'Ugliness is sin.' And Norman Mailer's 'The natural role of twentieth-century man is anxiety.' These are actually unfair to the book as it abounds in longer and more serious quotations . . . arranged alphabetically by author —compiled by George Seldes to demonstrate 'the illimitable freedom of the human mind.'"

Adds *Saturday Review:* "(the book) leans toward the controversial, the democratic, the revolutionary, the agnostic, the muckraking, and the idiotic or appalling mouthings of the Fascists and the bigots. His index lists the authors under themes . . . This book *demands* its own space on your shelf."

After you own one, you'll want others to give . . . for THE GREAT QUOTATIONS makes a memorable and magnificent gift!

Its 912 pages include a subject index. THE GREAT QUOTATIONS is bound in buckram. Its parchment-like dust jacket is especially imported from Holland. THE GREAT QUOTATIONS is stamped in gold, handsomely bound and printed on the finest paper.

The time to secure your copy is today!

More than 6,000 copies of THE GREAT QUOTATIONS have already been sold. The price is $15. We prefer that you buy yours at your bookshop. However if your bookshop does not stock it, use this coupon to order directly from the publisher. Your copy will be shipped to you postpaid by return mail.

Lyle Stuart, publisher
Dept. R-1, 225 Lafayette Street, New York 12, New York

Enclosed please find $15 for which please send to me a copy of THE GREAT QUOTATIONS. I understand that you will ship my book on the day you receive this order and that you will pay the postage.

Name_____ (please print)

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

THE GREAT QUOTATIONS is published by Irving Caesar and Lyle Stuart and is a Caesar-Stuart book.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RAY BRADBURY—"It is rare to find a film critic who tempers his criticism with love. I prefer reading Stanley Kauffmann's motion picture writings in **The New Republic** because I believe he has a great and firm affection for the medium that has too often been attacked by snobs and cynics. In America, there is no other like him."

ERIC BENTLEY—"At any one time, there are a few people who write entertainingly about the theater. Robert Brustein in **The New Republic** is one of these. The number of people in America who also write *thoughtfully* about the theater is seldom higher than three. Robert Brustein is one of these today."

GILBERT SELDES—"Robert Brustein is the best man now writing dramatic criticism."

THOMAS HART BENTON—"The function of an art critic is not, in my view, to set up definitive judgments about art, but to stimulate thinking about it. Frank Getlein in **The New Republic** has done just that for me."

GEORGIA O'KEEFFE—"I always look for what Frank Getlein writes on art. He states clearly and simply what he thinks about what he has looked at and I find it a pleasure to read what he has to say. I looked over a stack of old **New Republics** a few days ago and was amused and surprised to see how many I found opened to the Getlein page."

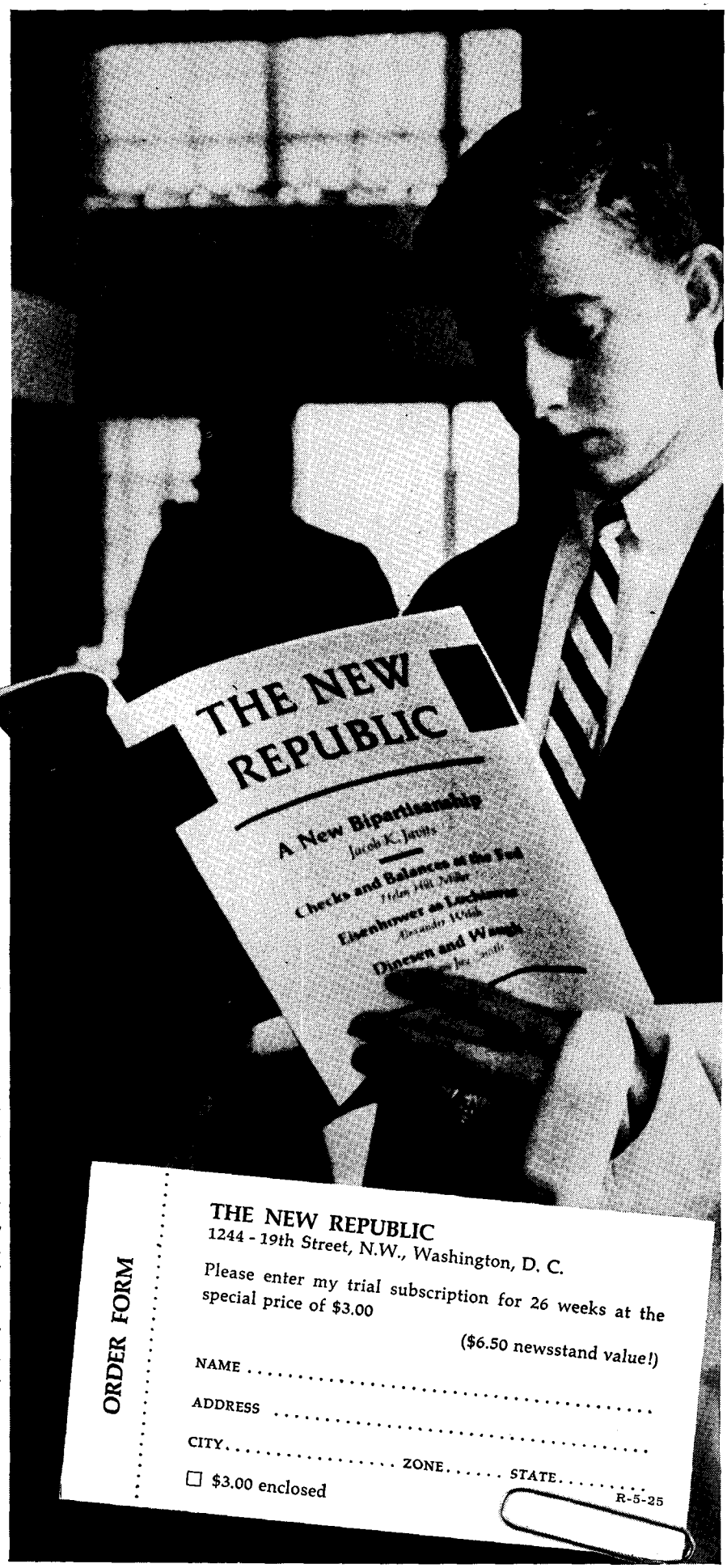
WILLIAM S. WHITE—"As a journalist I consider **The New Republic** must reading not only for my profession but for all people really interested in public affairs."

STEWART UDALL, Secretary of the Interior—"For years I have counted on **The New Republic** for ideas, for fresh and candid comment. I still do."

WALTER LIPPMANN—"**The New Republic** is growing in excellence and becoming a very necessary magazine to read."

KAY BOYLE—"I do not remember any film review of Stanley Kauffmann's which has not interested and impressed me... He is one of my great enthusiasms."

Other **NEW REPUBLIC** *"regulars" (in addition to Stanley Kauffmann, Frank Getlein and Robert Brustein) Feiffer, Mauldin, Robert Osborn, Gerald W. Johnson, John Cogley, B. H. Haggin.*



ORDER FORM

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 - 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Please enter my trial subscription for 26 weeks at the special price of $3.00

($6.50 newsstand value!)

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

☐ $3.00 enclosed

R-5-25

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DRESS AND ACCESSORIES BY SAKS FIFTH AVENUE

Luxurious adventure—a dram of Drambuie

80 PROOF

Moment of moments . . . cordial of cordials . . . a dram of Drambuie! Made with a base of finest Scotch whisky, Drambuie is truly a luxurious adventure. Originally the personal liqueur of Prince Charles Edward, Drambuie has been made in Scotland since 1745 from Bonnie Prince Charlie's secret recipe. Enjoy Drambuie in the traditional cordial glass—or on the rocks, with twist of lemon peel if desired.

Drambuie

The cordial with the Scotch whisky base

IMPORTED BY W. A. TAYLOR & COMPANY, NEW YORK, N. Y., SOLE DISTRIBUTORS FOR THE U.S.A.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED